HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Vol. XXVII, No. 25 | Copyright 1967 by HUMAN EVENTS, INC. | June 24, 1967 | 35¢

Failure at the U.N.

Why Didn't Goldberg Attack Soviets?

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Ambassador Arthur Goldberg's performance at the United Nations during the height of the Middle East crisis was lackluster at best, wishy-washy most of the time and downright inadequate at worst.

Time after time he watched the Soviet Union and its supporters use every technicality of U.N. procedure to help the Soviet-supported and sponsored forces of the Arab nations build up for the assault against Israel without mounting much more than politely diplomatic counterattacks against the Communist tactics.

Time after time he watched the Soviet delegation wave the bloody shirt of aggression, accusing Israel and America, without lodging much more than polite denials and without once flatly, strongly and clearly branding the Soviet Union, by name, rank and serial number as the power fully responsible for lighting the flames of war in the Middle East.

Time after time he watched the Soviet delegation use the forum of the Security Council as a Cold War platform from which to launch attacks against the United States and Israel, and his replies usually were to go on to some other point.

Even when, in what must be accounted one of the most crude misuses of the freedom of U.N. speech on record, the Soviet bloc's spokesman compared the Israeli actions to Hitler's aggressions, our delegate could only reply by shifting the subject to the fact that the United States through presumably secret diplomacy had tried to calm the Middle East situation.

Throughout the debate the U.S. delegation permitted the United States and Israel to appear as totally on the defensive against a strong tide of world criticism.

In truth, of course, the United States should have taken the political offensive as strongly and skillfully as Israel, in self-defense, took the military offensive.

In particular, the United States should have pounded away at the facts of Soviet complicity in the war. Our spokesmen in the Security Council should not have permitted a speech to go by without reminding the world that the Soviet Union is the father of aggression around the world in this part of the 20th Century.

We should have missed no opportunity to point out that the Soviet delegation's pious denunciations of aggression in the Middle East should be viewed against the actual record of Soviet aggression and Soviet-supported aggression in Eastern Europe, in Southeast Asia, in Latin America, in Asia, in fact everywhere in the world.

There are those, of course, who will refer to Ambassador Goldberg's performance as statesmanlike rather than inadequate. There is in my view nothing statesmanlike about remaining silent or shy or cleverly diplomatic at a time when the conscience of freedom and justice cries out for honest men to speak out.

Ambassador Goldberg's performance must have been conditioned and molded by the policies of the Administration which he represents at the United Nations, in which it is still standard operating procedure to either apologize for or overlook Soviet excesses in order that the Johnson-McNamara plans for ending the Cold War by one-sided compromises may continue without interruption.

Despite all of the politically expedient reasons for letting the Soviets get off without a rousing fight in the Security Council, let me repeat that silence in such a clear-cut case as that of the Middle East may be called a diplomatic triumph by some, but will be remembered by even more as a failure of nerve, conscience and commitment.

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Soviet Ambassador to the United Nations Nikolai Fedorenko, left, listens as U.S. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg gestures during a recess in the U.N. deliberations on the Middle East crisis. Columnist Goldwater criticizes Goldberg for not placing the blame for the crisis more squarely on the Soviets.

The Israelis, meanwhile, do not seem too concerned with the United Nations as their top military officials tour Old Jerusalem. In the center is war hero Moshe Dayan.

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Past volumes of *Human Events* on microfilm available directly from University Microfilms, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106.

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Human Events **is published weekly by Human Events, Inc., 410 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices. One year subscription, $12.50 (see coupon below).**

U.S. national newsstand distribution by Eastern News Distributors, Inc., 155 W. 15th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011

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● In the wake of the Mideast crisis, the Administration's much-vaunted program to help the Soviets build an automobile plant with high-quality American machine tools—the **Fiat Deal**—seems dead, at least for this session of Congress. The House Rules Committee has even gone so far as to bottle up a routine bill to extend the life of the Export-Import Bank for fear the House would attach to it an amendment by Rep. Paul Fino (R.-N.Y.) which would block the bank from participation in the Fiat program.

● U.N. Ambassador **Arthur Goldberg** is reportedly still miffed with Nikolai Fedorenko, the Soviet Union's chief representative at the world organization. The reason: Fedorenko refused to permit a 10-minute recess of the Security Council so Goldberg could go to the bathroom.

● Sen. Robert Kennedy (D.-N.Y.) is reportedly pressing Xerox executive **Sol Linowitz**—now a U.S. representative to the Organization of American States—to run against Sen. Jacob Javits in 1968. Linowitz is even further to the left on the political spectrum than the New York Republican.

● Illinois politicos say **R. Sargent Shriver** has definite plans to run against Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) in 1968. The chief anti-poverty warrior, who still retains his Illinois voting residence, is known to have consulted recently with a key figure in Chicago's Democratic political machine who encouraged Shriver's candidacy.

● If the President decides to let the Soviets enter a bid to build and install giant turbines and generators in Washington State's Grand Coulee Dam, Rep. **Catherine May** (R.-Wash.) says she will introduce legislation to block such a move. Mrs. May says she is "greatly perturbed" that the President, upon the advice of the State Department, is considering this action (see Human Events last week, page 6.).

● New Mexico's congressional delegation has demanded a Justice Department investigation into the activities of anti-poverty workers reportedly involved with the revolutionary forces of **Reies Lopez Tijerina**. Tijerina was arrested last week and charged with kidnapping, conspiracy to commit murder and bombing a public building. Anti-poverty worker Uvaldo Velasquez, arrested with Tijerina, was charged with aiding or harboring a fugitive.

● Mrs. Phyllis Schlafly's advice to her loyal supporters in the **National Federation of Republican Women** is apparently not being followed in all instances. Though Mrs. Schlafly, author of "A Choice, Not An Echo," believes she was cheated out of the group's presidency, she recently advised her fans to stick with the federation and fight to make it more conservative. But some pro-Schlafly groups are resigning anyway. At least four Nebraska clubs have left the NFRW, protesting that many tactics used at the national convention to defeat Mrs. Schlafly were illegal.

● Professional black nationalist **Le Roi Jones** is now a visiting professor at San Francisco State College. According to the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, the school's student government has awarded the local Black Student Union $2,838 to film some of Jones' incendiary and obscene plays.

● Sen. Gordon Allott (R.-Colo.) noted recently that interest on the **national debt** will increase to $14.2 billion in the coming fiscal year. This, he points out, is more than the combined total spent by the Departments of State, Labor, Commerce, Agriculture, Interior and Justice, plus the Atomic Energy Commission and the District of Columbia government. It is also more than the entire federal budget as recently as 1941.

● Republicans in Oklahoma are covetously eyeing the seat of Rep. **Tom Steed** (D.), who won with only 50.2 per cent of the vote in 1966. One reason they think they can beat Steed next time out is a recent statement attributed to him by one of his supporters, columnist Jack Anderson. Anderson, Drew Pearson's aide, recently quoted Steed as saying: "The oil giants have no real interest in the economy or security of the United States, but, like the huge munitions manufacturers, are in fact internationalists, concerned only with making billions of dollars, however and wherever they can."

● The Wisconsin Senate has approved a measure that may add California Gov. **Ronald Reagan** and Illinois Sen. Charles Percy to the already brewing GOP presidential primary contest in the Badger State. Right now Gov. George Romney of Michigan and former Vice President Richard Nixon are the only two candidates.

● Rep. James Gardner (R.-N.C.) has fired off an angry letter to anti-poverty boss R. Sargent Shriver, charging that federally financed **poverty workers** in Durham, N.C., are taking an active role in local politics. Wrote Gardner: "It is not the role of anti-poverty workers to spend taxpayers' money by devoting months of their time researching registration and voter lists, subsequently engaging in registration drives and on election day delivering the voters (even though in the last case on their own time and in private automobiles), and telling the voters how to cast their ballots."

● After considerable pressure from outraged California citizens and lawmakers, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is considering withdrawing aid to **Community Alert Patrol**—a loose federation of black militants and civil rights leaders. Although most CAP members have police records, the group was supposed to observe and record instances of "poor police procedure in Watts."

● Rep. Charles Chamberlain (R.-Mich.) reports that 19 **free world ships**, with a capacity of 135,000 tons of supplies, have called on North Vietnamese ports this year. Chamberlain notes that our ships have to face enemy fire en route to Saigon, but that the United States is doing virtually nothing to keep "immoral and vicious trading" by free world ships away from North Viet Nam.

● The chairman of the Democratic Congressional Committee, octogenarian Rep. **Mike Kirwan** (D.-Ohio), may be at the end of his political career. A popular young state representative, Thomas P. Gilmartin, plans to challenge Kirwan in the Democratic primary next spring. Kirwan has spent so much time wheeling and dealing on the national scene that his political fences back home are in disrepair.

● Noting that three sons of the late FDR have lost elections in the past few years, political observers are saying that the **Roosevelt name** has lost its once bright lustre. The latest Roosevelt to go down to defeat: Elliott, mayor of Maimi Beach. He was recently beaten for renomination in the Democratic primary.

● Senator **Chet Huntley**? Gossip in the Capitol says NBC's famous newscaster is thinking of running for the Senate as a Democrat, possibly from his home state of Montana.

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Pentagon's No. 2 Dove

The decision by LBJ to make Navy Secretary Paul H. Nitze deputy secretary of defense has caused few ripples in the Capitol, but those with good memories recall that Nitze was one of the fervent disciples of unilateral disarmament during the Kennedy regime—and some believe he hasn't changed much. As assistant secretary of defense for International Security Affairs in the early '60s, Nitze endorsed an American defense strategy that would not "provoke" the Soviet Union; he favored withdrawal of U.S. missiles from Turkey, Italy and England; and he openly supported the 1963 Moscow test-ban pact which contained no inspection provisions.

NITZE

Nitze was sharply interrogated by the Senate Armed Services Committee in 1963 about his past statements and actions, but Nitze professed that much of what was attributed to him was misunderstood. This was particularly the case, he insisted, with an April 28, 1960, prepared speech to the Asilomar conference of military officials in California. In that speech Nitze had said:

"The actions I propose are the following . . . that we multilateralize the command of our retaliatory system by making SAC [the Strategic Air Command] a NATO command and that we inform the United Nations that NATO will turn over ultimate power on the use of these systems to the General Assembly of the United Nations. . . ." Nitze also recommended the United Nations not authorize the use of these weapons until an aggressor used nuclear weapons first.

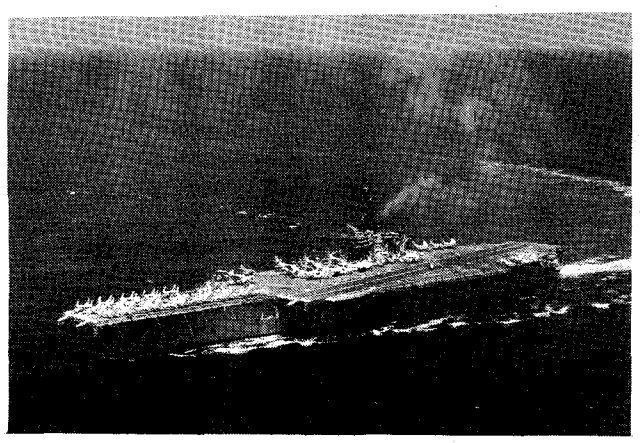
In November 1958, Nitze presided over one section of the Fifth World Order Study Conference of the National Council of Churches which met in Cleveland, Ohio. He claims this panel was also subject to much "misinterpretation."

The Nitze panel urged the United States to suspend nuclear tests unilaterally; to use force only if it is "sanctioned by, and under the control of, the United Nations"; to encourage Chiang Kai-shek to abandon the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu; to be aware that "America's widely scattered military bases, some of them near the border of the Soviet Union, arouse apprehension"; and to realize that "Western imperialism must be taken into account if we are to understand contemporary Communist attitudes."

Before the Senate Armed Services Committee, however, Nitze insisted that at the Asilomar conference he was only "throwing out ideas for discussion." He tried to convey the impression that he hardly meant any of the 4,000-word, carefully phrased Asilomar speech. Not everyone was convinced.

"Didn't you say you were 'very proud' of the speech to the Democratic House Study Group not more than three months ago?" queried the incredulous Harry Byrd (D.-Va.).

"I said," Nitze remarked, "I was only proud of elements in it. This is my recollection of what I said." Which elements were not exactly clear, for in this same speech Nitze had also stated that the United States shouldn't strive for nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union and that we should "scrap" our missile bases overseas, and had implied we should abolish aircraft carriers.



Nitze has even implied that the United States should abolish its aircraft carriers, the backbone of the fleet. Above: The USS Constellation.

Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D.-W.Va.) said: "I don't want to impugn your sincerity in saying today that you were merely throwing out a proposal you did not believe yourself . . . [but] it seems to me that in my reading of this speech I get the impression that you went beyond that, that you threw out an idea you thought really might be practical. . . ."

"I sincerely wanted," Nitze finally conceded, "this to be analyzed by these people who were there; I thought it was worthy of discussion."

What about that section of the World Order Study Conference? Nitze said he was just chairman of the panel. That would seem like a pretty powerful position, but, said Nitze, he didn't participate in writing the report, had no vote and had argued against many of the recommendations at the time. Unfortunately, there is no record of Nitze's disagreements and he didn't think it worthwhile to write a dissenting report.

Had he favored, the senators asked anyway, unilateral suspension of U.S. tests? He wasn't sure. "I think my recollection is," Nitze muttered uneasily, "I disagreed with it at the time."

He did, however, admit to favoring a policy both in 1958 and in 1955 of encouraging Chiang Kai-shek to abandon Quemoy and Matsu and said he had even opposed the 1955 concurrent resolution giving the President the power to defend these islands from Communist attack.

And now, appropriately say some, Nitze will soon become the No. 2 man in the Defense Department.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

Wyman Aids LBJ

Rep. Louis Wyman (R.-N.H.), who supported Barry Goldwater in 1964 and once described Medicare as a "hoax," has sadly disappointed many of his GOP colleagues by his role in getting the House to pass the Administration's costly Demonstration Cities program. Only 35 of 176 Republicans voted for the plan, but Wyman played a crucial part in its passage and without his yeoman work on its behalf, the program may very well have been scrapped.

WYMAN

The model cities plan not only invests enormous powers over local government in the hands of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, but will probably be our most costly domestic activity in the future. Big city mayors are already talking in terms of getting government to spend a quarter of a trillion dollars on rehabilitating slums.

Wyman is on the 10-member Independent Offices Appropriations subcommittee which had original jurisdiction over the appropriations bill for the cities program. Analysis of a key vote in the subcommittee reveals that the appropriations would probably not have survived its first test without Wyman's support, notes the reliable *Congressional Quarterly*.

Siding with the bill's supporters, Wyman voted in committee to kill a motion to knock out all but $12 million in planning funds. The vote ended in a 6-to-6 tie and under House rules a tie loses.

Following this action, the subcommittee voted unanimously to approve a figure of $237 million, the amount later approved by the House.

Lobby groups and GOP staffers insist that Wyman's support was crucial on the House floor as well. Describing the turmoil in the cities, Wyman urged Republicans to give the program a chance. Though the model cities plan might not be "precisely the correct program," he said, Congress could improve it.

One GOP source told *Congressional Quarterly* that Wyman influenced at least 10 to 12 votes. When Rep. Robert Michel (R.-Ill.) offered an amendment to trim the appropriations down to $12 million, the measure lost 213 to 193. A shift of only 11 votes could have made the difference.

Wyman has said he supported the program because it would be a "grievous political error" for Republicans to oppose aid to the nation's cities without offering a constructive alternative. The New Hampshire congressman had told a *Human Events* staffer earlier in the year, however, that he thought the cities program was "one of the worst" of LBJ's costly boondoggles.

Peacenik Campaigns

Radical leftists are quietly raising funds to finance anti-Johnson "peace" campaigns in several presidential primaries next spring. They hope to defeat Johnson in at least one contest and by demonstrating his "unpopularity," convince the President not to run for re-election.

Anti-war slates are being assembled in several states. In New Hampshire, full-time workers are putting together an organization that will support convention delegates favorable to Bobby Kennedy. A slate pledged to pediatrician Benjamin Spock is in the works in Wisconsin.

In Oregon, former Rep. Charles Porter is putting together an anti-Johnson slate, to be headed, perhaps, by Wayne Morse.

In California, the far-left California Democratic Council has scheduled a convention in late September to form a delegate slate opposed to Johnson. The group, which represents nearly 40,000 party workers, hopes to convince dovish Rep. George Brown (D.-Calif.) to head the slate. Former CDC head Simon Casady, who has "admired the courage" of draft card burners, is also talked of for the top spot.

The Secret Otepka Hearings

"What's the department hiding?" That's the question that appears to pop up among observers of the State Department hearings involving Otto Otepka, the former high-ranking security officer who was fired three and one-half years ago after challenging the department's security procedures.

Secrecy appears to be the hallmark of the case. The department, for example, refuses to open the hearings to the public or the press; neither will it permit transcripts to be read. When the department explained that certain documents to be introduced were confidential, Otepka's attorney, Roger Robb, exploded: "Every one of those documents has been made public in the published hearings of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee on the case. Even if they are to be classified, there is no excuse for secrecy on the remaining portions of the transcript. There is no precedent for such a ruling."

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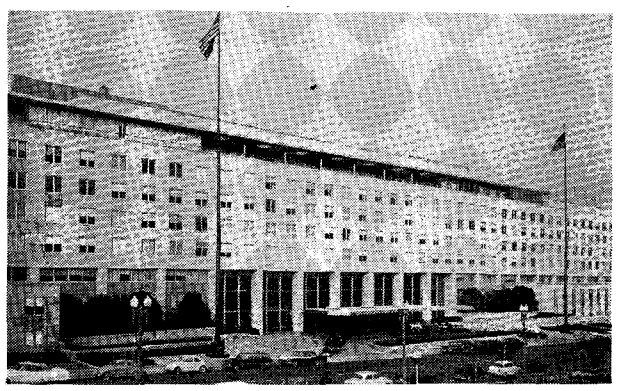
For years, too, the government has blared forth the charges that Otepka has been guilty of declassifying and mutilating confidential documents, but recently the government mysteriously threw out 10 charges against Otepka relating to his alleged document "mutilation." Apparently, this was done to "cover up" reprehensible action by the department itself.

The *Government Employes Exchange*, the factual Washington paper covering the activities of federal employes, revealed that reliable information had it that the Justice Department decided to expunge



The State Department has dropped many of the charges against Otepka primarily to cover up its own wrongdoing.

the charges since Otepka had "obtained positive information" regarding the persons who had actually mutilated the documents and, in the event these charges were pressed, Otepka would be able to expose the real culprits. Thus, said the *Exchange*, the charges were dropped.

Last week the department was again attempting to throw a cloud of secrecy around the case by attempting to thwart Otepka from bringing out the full facts. Otepka and Robb asked the department to produce two tape reels of conversations of Otepka obtained through a secret tap put on Otepka's office telephone back in 1963. Evidence of the secret tap, whose installment was against federal law, came to light through hearings conducted by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. But Irving Jaffe, who is pressing the case against Otepka before the State Department's hearing examiner, informed Robb that these reels have now been conveniently "erased."

The department has tried to hinder the hearings in other ways as well. Both Otepka and Robb have also requested the department to call in John Reilly, who was thoroughly involved in the Otepka matter when he was with the department and had knowledge of the telephone tapping. Indeed, Reilly initially failed to tell the truth about his knowledge of the "tap" and, when he reversed his position under threat of a perjury indictment, he resigned his department position but then wound up in a plush job with the Federal Communications Commission.

Though initimately involved in the Otepka matter, the department has not been urging Reilly to make an appearance at the Otepka hearings. Thus the State Department continues its weird performance in the Otepka affair.

Is Romney Eligible?

An exhaustive probe by a leading member of the Washington bar has ended with the conclusion that Michigan Gov. George Romney is constitutionally ineligible for the presidency.

The verdict of Pinckney G. McElwee—inserted in the *Congressional Record* by Rep. John Dowdy (D.-Tex.)—is expected to further damage Romney's chances for the GOP presidential nomination. While Romney maintains that "without doubt I am eligible," McElwee's lengthy investigation indicates otherwise.

The question of Romney's eligibility centers around the constitutional stipulation that only a "natural-born citizen" may occupy the nation's highest office. Romney was born in Chihuahua, Mexico, of Mormon parents who had fled the United States in search of religious freedom.

Romney lieutenants argue that the phrase "natural born" is "meaningless." But Pinckney traced the phrase back to English common law, and examined closely the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention, subsequent acts of Congress and numerous court decisions. His conclusion is blunt:

"I find no proper legal or historical basis on which to conclude that a person born outside of the United States could ever be eligible to occupy the office of the President of the United States. In other words, in my opinion, Mr. George Romney of Michigan is ineligible to become President of the United States, because he was born in Mexico and is, therefore, not a natural-born citizen as required by the United States Constitution."

LBJ 'Packs' The Court

LBJ's nomination of Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall, a liberal Negro, to replace the conservatively oriented Supreme Court Justice Tom Clark, has angered many conservatives who now feel that LBJ has "packed" the court with a comfortable liberal majority.

A leader in the movement to eliminate desegregated schools in the South, Marshall has had a highly radical past. He was a member of the National Lawyers Guild executive board in 1949, even though the guild had been declared a Communist front by a congressional committee in 1944. In 1947 he was among a group of attorneys who sent a telegram to New York congressmen asking them to oppose the contempt citations of the Hollywood 10 who refused to answer questions about their Communist pasts. Though he has shed his previous affinity for such leftist groups in recent years, he is still considered very, very liberal and there is a strong belief that he will line up with the liberal justices in matters relating to crime and civil rights.

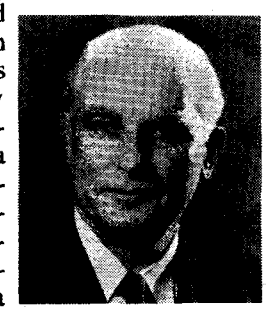
MARSHALL

The moderate Washington *Evening Star* recently commented: "The Supreme Court's majority opinion affirming the conviction of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and seven other ministers for contempt of court after they had deliberately violated an injunction issued by a Birmingham judge in 1963 rests upon what strikes us as a sound legal doctrine . . . .

"We would like to think that the principle announced by the majority would be controlling in the future. But this would be a very dubious assumption in view of the President's nomination of Thurgood Marshall to replace Justice Clark. When a suitable case comes along after the solicitor general takes his seat on the court, there is a high probability that the holding in the case of Dr. King will be overruled by a new 5-to-4 decision."

Dodd's Chances Improve

The dramatic Senate debate over whether to censure Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.) moved into its final stages last week and the vote on the censure motion will probably come up this Wednesday. Whereas few had given the Connecticut lawmaker a chance to escape a censure verdict by his colleagues when the Ethics Committee, headed by six prominent senators, had unanimously recommended such a penalty, Dodd's presentation before the Senate last week markedly improved his position.



DODD

Cynical reporters in the galleries, as well as senators, were positively impressed with his arguments that he had never deliberately double-billed private organizations and the government for the same trips. Indeed, so impressed were they with his logic that the Senate has now agreed to separate the double-billing charge from the charge that he wrongfully diverted political campaign contributions to private use. As of last week, there was a strong belief that the double-billing accusation would be knocked down when it came to a vote.

• *Sen. Robert Kennedy (D.-N.Y.), whose popularity is already slipping because of his far-left comments, received another setback last week: he was defeated in an electionof five members of the Harvard Board of Overseers. The board, which is elected by the alumni, reviews the day-to-day administration of Harvard University.*

The case still largely hinges on what the lawmakers believe about the money raised for Dodd at testimonial dinners. Sen. Stennis, chairman of the Ethics Committee, contends the heart of the matter is that Dodd took in money on "an express or implied representation to the people and the general public that these funds were political funds and were connected with a campaign, past or future, and they were thereafter wrongfully . . . converted to what was essentially a personal use. That is the basis of the charge."

Dodd contends that the testimonial dinners did not mislead anyone and that the money collected at these affairs —about $170,000— was given to him on a tax-free basis which he could use for personal expenses.

He says, moreover, he never enriched himself on the testimonials, that he owns no stocks or bonds, has no interest in any business, owns no real estate apart from his home in Connecticut and his home in Washington, both of which have sizable mortgages, and that his total net worth is approximately $54,000.

If he misled the donors as to what he was going to do with the money, Dodd asked, why haven't they come forward to accuse him? "The senator from Mississippi has said that he thinks he knows what a man who buys a ticket has in his mind. I believe I know also. . . . But all of those who attended [my] dinners, more than 50 per cent of them said [in sworn affidavits] they intended me to have that money to use in any way I wanted." Only one person has asked for his money back, claiming he did not realize his $25 could be used for other than strictly political expenses.

The Center's New Man

Senate investigators looking into the tax-exempt status of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, the Southern California leftist think-tank, believe they have found a key to yank the exemption of the ideologically partisan center.

The key is a consultant recently added by the center, a Communist scientist by the name of Nikolai N. Inozemtsev, who is publicly listed as director of the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Institute of World Economics and International Relations. Not publicly listed is that Comrade Inozemtsev is also deputy editor of the Kremlin mouthpiece, *Pravda*.

In his role as consultant, says a center official, Inozemtsev will be "someone we can call on who represents social science interests in the Iron Curtain world." And his periodic trips to California to meet with the center's staff will be paid for out of the center's treasury—a fund presently untapped by the Internal Revenue Service because the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions is supposedly a "non-partisan, educational" association.

• *"Soviet mellowing" theories have now gone "poof" as the USSR continues to inflame the crisis in the Mideast. Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin is coming to the United Nations to initiate a flurry of activity against Israel with hopes that it will abandon territory taken from the Arabs in a war fueled by Soviet arms. Even though Nasser, with Soviet backing, initiated the recent conflict by threatening to wipe Israel off the map and blockading the Gulf of Aqaba, the Soviets claim Israel is the aggressor. On top of that, the Soviet Union is conducting a massive resupply of military equipment to Egypt and Syria, including MIG jet fighters.*

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Problem for Middle East Panel:

Prepare U.S. Public for Arab Oil Nationalization

From the Allen-Scott Report

The special presidential panel on the Middle East is taking on a controversial first assignment.

Its unannounced task is to prepare Congress and the American people for the nationalization of Middle East oil by the Arab nations.

This coming takeover of U.S.-British holdings, which is vigorously encouraged by Russia, has been foreshadowed during the Arab-Israeli fighting by the halting of pumping and of oil shipments to the West, and the cutting of pipelines.

No matter the results of the Middle East hostilities, U.S. authorities have been forewarned that the Arabs plan to go through with this counterstroke – a move similar to UAR President Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal after his military defeat in 1956.

Under the new Middle East policy taking shape within the Johnson Administration, the blue-ribbon study group will work toward establishment of a regional economic-development system for the area to lessen the impact of the seizure.

If the Arab nations will agree, revenues for vast job-producing projects will come from the great oil resources in the Middle East, from U.S. loans and grants – including large shipments of wheat and other food grains—and from other big powers.

Through former presidential assistant McGeorge Bundy, who is the director of the new Middle East panel, President Johnson already has invited Soviet leaders to join in economic cooperation and arms control in the region.

The invitation was extended by Bundy during the unpublicized meeting with Kremlin officials in Moscow at the outbreak of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In reporting on these talks, Bundy told the President the Russians took the position there could be no cooperation as long as the U.S. continues to bomb North Viet Nam.

While the President indicated he did not want to link Viet Nam and the Middle East at this time, he did authorize Bundy to explore this possibility with his blue-ribbon study panel.

Administration insiders say the President's decision to set up the Middle East panel came from his growing disillusion with the patchwork of U.S. military and economic aid going into the region and its failure to keep the peace.

To replace U.S. aid to individual countries, the President instructed the Bundy group to work up a program for regional projects to end poverty in the area.

In the field of arms control, Bundy and his panel were told to explore the establishment of a new U.S. peace-keeping force, including air and naval units for the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

Mission of these forces would be to serve as an international policeman until the United States, Russia and the other major arms suppliers for the region agree on a control program.

If the Soviets cooperate, Bundy has the green light to work out an interim arms control commission for the Middle East.

★ ★ ★

The secret State Department hearing on Otto Otepka, the former chief security evaluation officer, is taking a unique turn.

Irving Jaffe, the Justice Department prosecutor, has blocked a move to involve Sen. Robert Kennedy in the proceedings.

Otepka's attorneys asked for permission to call John F. Reilly, the former deputy assistant secretary of state for security and a close friend of the senator, to question him on Kennedy's role in drafting charges brought against their client.

Rather than agree to the appearance of Reilly, who had been involved in the bugging of Otepka's phone, Jaffe dropped 10 of the 13 charges once offered as justification for Otepka's dismissal.

The action of Jaffe has temporarily blocked Reilly's appearance, since the latter had nothing to do with the remaining charges against Otepka.

According to Otepka's friends, the security officer's troubles began during the Kennedy Administration when he challenged the procedure of waiving security checks for hundreds of State Department employes, including Dr. Walt Rostow, now the chief foreign policy adviser in the White House.

A showdown in the Rostow case came when Otepka was summoned by then Atty. Gen. Kennedy, who demanded a waiver be granted the former professor. At the time Rostow was being considered for a high State Department post.

After Otepka balked, Rostow was appointed by President Kennedy to a position in the White House after another security officer granted clearance.

The Otepka hearings, under way for more than a week, are being held behind closed doors at the State Department at its request. Otepka's attorneys have vigorously protested this blackout, claiming the proceedings should be open to the public.

Of the charges brought against Otepka, only those accusing him of giving confidential papers to J.G. Sourwine, chief counsel of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, remain.

Otepka's defense claims the only unauthorized information he supplied the subcommittee was material disproving the testimony of Reilly and other witnesses against him.

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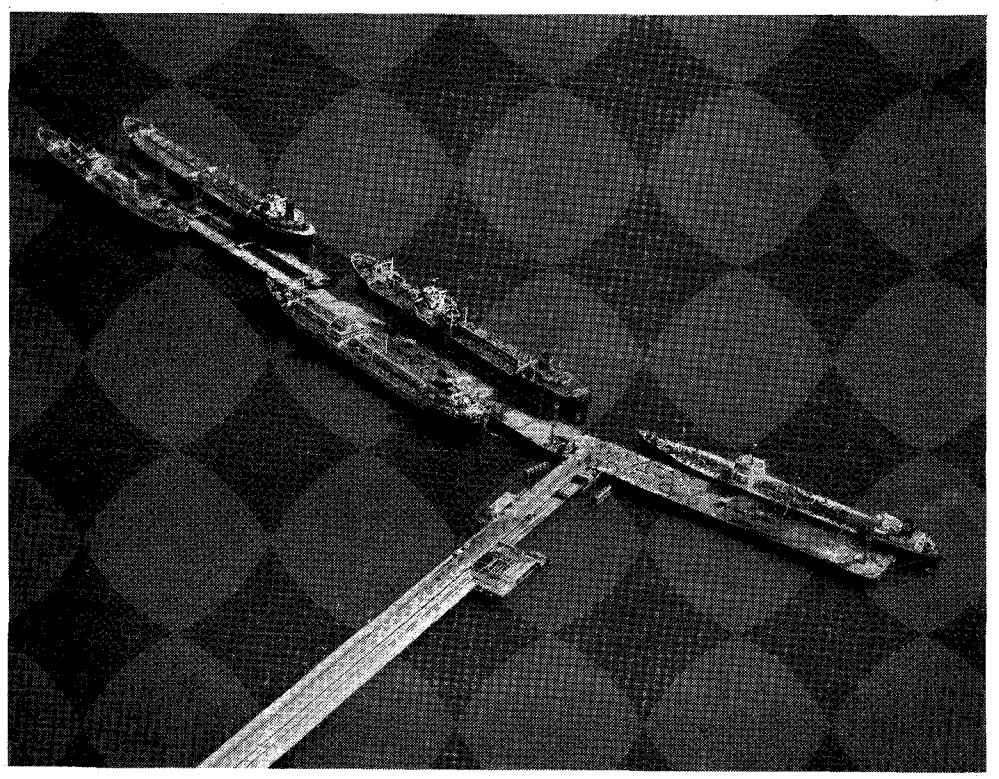

Although some oil is again being shipped from the Middle East, the dangers are still great that the Arabs will try to nationalize the Western-operated oil concessions.

Shuman Assails Freeman's Record

The head of the nation's largest farm group has denounced Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman as an "accomplished failure" who seeks to chain U.S. farmers to a "federal control and subsidy program geared to the depression '30s."

President Charles Shuman of the American Farm Bureau Federation disclosed that under Freeman direct federal payments to farmers have increased five-fold to a staggering $3 billion a year. "The stated purpose of the [Freeman] farm programs has been to control production and improve farm prices," Shuman noted.

"Neither goal has been achieved. After six years of a control program for feed grains costing more than $6 billion, production averaged considerably higher than during the previous five years."

Shuman called for the government to pull out of agriculture, arguing that the "temporary" farm programs first introduced in the great Depression have failed. These programs, he said, have "grown like a malignant cancer," costing taxpayers more than $50 billion.

"Few taxpayers realize that the current annual cost of federal farm programs is today more than the total bill for running the government back in 1933," Shuman said. "The experience of farmers with 'big government' should serve as a lesson to those who are apathetic to the growing multiplicity of new federal programs designed to meet the 'needs of the people.'"

□ □ □

USDA PROPAGANDISTS—Two hundred state committeemen of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service recently received government-paid junkets to Washington. They came to hear Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman implore them to wage a militant battle in behalf of the Administration programs upon which their jobs depend. This "casts them in the role of propagandists and lobbyists assigned to promote their own self-interest at taxpayers' expense," notes the Chicago *Tribune*.

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Government Computers Check On Business Hiring Policies

By VICTOR RIESEL

Now the federal government is developing push-button integration. It's computerizing its crusade.

In a few months some anonymous statistician deep in the capital labyrinth will answer an intercom and make a note of his chief's wish to know just which employers in a certain field have not hired sufficient numbers of Negroes, Spanish-speaking citizens and American Indians. The technician will hit a button or telephone a Midwest city subheadquarters of the Bureau of the Census in which is a grand computer. In its memory box will be millions of items on magnetic tape. The answer will be flashed back in a few seconds.

For in that computer will rest the intimate details of the hiring practices and personal policies of hundreds of thousands of American employers: the racial components; the status of each racial group in the "mix"; the number in management; in policy-making echelons and in menial labor.

Much of this already is on tape, though the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission still has a long way to go to record the policies of America's businessmen, big and small. At best, the EEOC, once headed by Franklin Roosevelt Jr. and now by a more professional chap, Steve Shulman, now can only hand pick from among some tens of thousands of forms filed by firms in the past year.

Actually the government is developing a computerized pincer movement. While the intimate details of corporate hiring policies are being punched out on the Bureau of the Census feedback mechanism, another computer is being fed at the University of Pittsburgh. Into that memory box are going thousands of EEOC decisions, mediations, regulations, policy statements by Shulman and his fellow commissioners, opinions of the general counsel and regulations piled up in the past 22 months of EEOC's turbulent life.

This will contain the drive for equality of the sexes as well as the intensity of integration. Thus, in a short while, Shulman or Labor Secretary Wirtz or someone over in the federal contract compliance division will be able to push some buttons, learn just what some coast-to-coast corporation has done recently—especially in the construction field—and what powers there are to needle it into action.

This electronic brain system will ease the drain on the men who are flying the circuit in the new city-by-city clampdown on contractors and other businesses handling any funds which have a penny of federal money. The jet planes are simply too slow. The federal enforcement people have been able to get around to few communities—some of them in northeast Ohio and as far west as the San Francisco Bay area. In a comparatively few federally assisted Ohio projects alone, some $44 million worth of such construction has or soon will be affected by government enforcement decisions.

The electronic pincers will be used to put muscle on what the EEOC people call "the arm of persuasion." Presumably, the computers will be used for lightning-like feedbacks on complaints coming in from 11 regional offices—stretching from the newest in this capital to Albuquerque to Los Angeles.

The pincer is both tactical and strategic, depending on what the government wants most at the moment. And right now the big drive is in the building and construction multi-billion-dollar area.

"We have a program oriented to the higher-paid trades," says one top federal enforcement official who has been jetting across the land. "We're aiming at getting minority workers into jobs as electricians, mechanics, operating engineers, machine metal workers, sheet metal workers and the pipe trades. That's where you don't find the Negroes. We find them in the lower-paid 'trowel and wet trades' mainly with the exception of some carpenters. But we have to spot-check the country now because we cannot, with our present facilities, sweep the whole nation."

Some employers' groups are irritated by being electronic data-processed, not only because it puts their executive suite policies on a tape for anyone near a button who wants to punch it, but also because the unions have not yet gone on the magnetic tape.

The employers can be processed because they already got a long questionnaire called form E.E.0.1 and dispatched their data. But there still is no form for the unions who supply the manpower to the companies. And there are some 7,000 apprentice programs and 50,000 local unions involved. They may not get a form for months. There must first be a public hearing. And that's scheduled for June 20. If this stretches out, the unions may not get their forms—inquiries on the number of Negroes, Spanish-speaking citizens, Indians, etc., in their membership—until '68.

Some employers groups are saying there now is an electronic gap—and are preparing for the battle of the computers.

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FEWER IN PRISON—"This newspaper has mentioned a number of times the figures (compiled by the U.S. Bureau of Prisons) showing that since 1960 the total of inmates in federal and state penal institutions has been decreasing year by year. The national crime rate has not decreased. It has *increased*, year by year. What's going on? Much is said about the burgeoning pace of criminal offenses. Resolutions are adopted, and studies organized for concerted efforts at all governmental levels to combat it. Causes are pondered and solutions sought. But hardly anyone seems to have associated two glaring facts: With crime annually more rampant, the aggregate prison population has been annually declining. Would anyone seriously suggest the two facts are unrelated?"—From the Nashville *Banner*

□ □ □

ATTY. GEN. RAMSEY CLARK has ordered that FBI files on Stokely Carmichael be denied Rep. Arch Moore (R.-W.Va.). Moore, a ranking member of the House Judiciary Committee, wants to know why Carmichael is not prosecuted for his flagrant anti-draft activities.

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Poverty czar Sargent Shriver makes a point at a news conference, during which he announced the opening of family health centers in major cities.

Shriver's Health Centers

Families earning $8,000 a year can get free medical care and drugs in some areas

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Sargent Shriver has made baby-sitting a function of the federal government (taxpayers' money), but I didn't know until I heard from Denver that he's busy there in ways also as out of place as a tuna fish in a trumpet.

His Office of Economic Opportunity, invading the health field at the public's expense, has tossed into Denver alone $805,000, with a prospective $3.3 million in 1967, for free health centers.

The Medicare law is already creating more problems than it is solving. Meanwhile, its cost is far beyond the estimate Washington stated to the voters. But as our government spreads its bureaucracy across the land in the name of the "Great Society," Mr. Shriver has succeeded in compounding the mess.

Handing our money to what's called "Denver Opportunity," the Office of Economic Opportunity provided the initial center in a Negro area. But the Mexican population apparently applied enough pressure to have another opened at the opposite end of town. A third is planned for the city's southeast section.

Other centers are already in New York City and Boston and I assume that, true to form, these will be expanded around the country unless the taxpayers learn the score.

The centers provide free (tax-payers' money) doctor care and examinations, nursing, prenatal care, dentistry, dental bridgework, X-rays, psychiatric services, all drugs and prescriptions and what-have-you.

At the moment 51 full-time specialists are on hand in the initial Denver layout, another 20 work part time and 72 more work as switchboard operators, custodians and chauffeurs for visitors unable to get to the center. That totals 143 people on the public payroll one way or another.

Residents within eight areas qualified to get any or all of this free assistance are supposed to fall into five categories:

Anyone earning less than $3,000 a year; any family of two earning less than $5,000; any family of three, less than $6,000; of four, less than $7,000; of five, less than $8,000.

Accordingly, any family consisting of a man, his wife and three children earning less than $8,000 per year is in clover for all these services, drugs, etc., free.

Well, the Bureau of Labor Statistics tells me that 85 per cent of all the nation's families are represented by incomes up to $10,000 a year. Only 1 per cent earns more. Fourteen per cent earn $10,000 to $7,500; 26 per cent less than $3,000.

On an expanded basis, Mr. Shriver might as well shout to the entire United States, "Come and get it!" And, in a large measure, it looks like that's what he's up to.

At first the Denver center checked the visitors' statements regarding their incomes, a ridiculous idea because it might save the taxpayers some money. That alarming precaution was promptly called "an invasion of privacy"—a complaint for which most politicians have no more stomach than to eat a panther's paw. Local observers insist that the precaution, to no one's surprise, has been largely discontinued.

The center is now filling prescriptions free at a reported rate of around 350 per day, and the estimated cost for each and every person who has come in averages $87 per person.

This charge is borne by both the federal taxpayer and the local city taxpayers—thus generally twice—on the basis of 90 per cent out of the national till, 10 per cent locally.

The merchandise given out is obtained from the Denver General Hospital at that institution's cost, and the taxpaying local druggist, of course, is providing 10 per cent of this cost to help himself go out of business. Nor is this all.

University of Maryland Prof. H. H. Hinricks, who analyzed the costs, estimates that it costs the nation's retailers (like druggists) at least $300 million a year out of their own pockets to account for the federal, state and local taxes the retailers must collect.

The taxpaying wholesale druggist (an indispensable man for efficiency in a healthy society) loses out to the centers at the same time while he, too, helps himself go out of business.

Big Brother plugs for a "truth-in-packaging law." Big Brother should also sponsor a new "truth-in-government" law requiring honesty and full disclosure in government programs' packages for those who foot the bill.

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U.S. May Offer Drugs

Red China Faces Famine and Health Crisis

From the Allen-Scott Report

Before the end of summer Communist China will face its worst food shortage and health crisis in a decade.

The hazard of famine and pestilence in the world's most populous country increases each day with the spreading drought in China's five surplus grain-producing provinces.

Bordering on the Yangtse River, these parched provinces are Hupei, Anhwei, Kiangsi, Hunan and Chekiang.

Under normal weather conditions these fertile rice and grain-producing areas account for 70 per cent of all food consumed in China's 18 provinces.

In the long history of China, crop failures in these Yangtse River provinces have been followed by country-wide hunger and death for tens of millions from starvation and disease.

Canadian officials returning from the China mainland say the drought is so widespread that the only way Peking can avert a major catastrophe is to begin importing massive shipments of grain and drugs from the West.

If Mao Tse-tung's government waits too long, these officials warn it will face a hunger revolt as bloody as the civil war that brought the Red regime to power in 1949.

This report on China's coming chaos was passed on to President Johnson during his recent visit with Prime Minister Pearson in Canada and resulted in the State Department's offer to send U.S. drugs to Peking.

It also came amid increasing signs that Mao Tse-tung has begun imposing martial law on the mainland in preparation for the Red Army's taking control of next month's harvest.

This military take-over is believed necessary to keep the restless Chinese peasants from revolting and seizing what remains of the country's small crops. Also, the martial law is needed for the mobilization of students, workers and Red Guards to gather the harvest.

Significantly, army units controlled by Mao and his followers have begun taking over the transportation and storage facilities needed to move and store the new harvest—tasks usually left to the farm communes.

In the heavily populated eastern and southern areas of China where diseases are rampant, the army has set up emergency medical centers to combat epidemics of German measles, smallpox and summer flu. The smallpox epidemic already has claimed thousands of lives and is spreading toward Hong Kong and North Viet Nam.

Despite Peking's flat rejection of the first U.S. drug offer, Secretary of State Rusk is again urging President Johnson to renew it through diplomatic channels. Under Rusk's plan the drugs would be sent to Peking with no strings attached to keep these killer diseases from spreading beyond the borders of China.

Before the Middle East crisis, Rusk also was considering a companion proposal providing that the United States offer to sell food grains if Peking requested them.

This controversial offer, however, was sidetracked by events in the Middle East before it could be forwarded to President Johnson for his approval. On directions from the White House, food requirements for Arab nations and the refugees of war have been given the State Department's highest priority.

China's timeless struggle to feed her people is further complicated by epidemics arising in part from the disruptive Red Guards who have been harassing the peasants.

Left up in the air is what the U.S. should do if and when Peking seeks help. With Russia facing a reduced wheat harvest due to drought, U.S. authorities believe that both Moscow and Peking will soon be in the market for Western wheat.

Since the Russians have tied up most of Canada's wheat surplus through 1968, it is believed here that Communist China must seek its grain in the United States if its food crisis is to be averted. Australia, the other large wheat producer, already has most of its wheat reserve committed.

Why Do We Jam Voice of America?

By PAUL HARVEY

Our front page is not a proper mirror of the American image. The front page is "news" and news is most often the exceptional, the sensational, the off-beat.

Even in American eyes, this makes us appear worse than we are. And now the Voice of America promises to continue to reflect that distorted image worldwide.

VOA's new director, John Daly, has said he intends for the "Voice" to "report fully and fairly the divisions in our country including conflicting opinions on Viet Nam policy."

This sounds like Daly, to whom "divisions in our country" were always "news." His frequently reiterated criterion for material for his own broadcasts was, "Is it of social significance?"

Well, this is one way to pick and choose what's news domestically, but we're going to be jamming our own Voice of America if it is preoccupied with "divisions" and "conflicting opinions."

Vice President Humphrey has said that our evaluation of "what's news" has the rest of the world thinking of the United States as "a nation of riots, fires, floods and disasters."

Congressman John J. Rooney says, "Daly is going to have to learn that he's not playing 'What's My Line?' anymore. From now on it's 'our line' that he's supposed to amplify. His job is to promote *our way* of thinking."

And Rooney is chairman of the subcommittee which approves funds for, among other things, the Voice of America.

Congressman Charles Joelson says Daly has "a mistaken view of his new assignment. It is not for our government's radio voice to broadcast statements opposing our government's policy."

The *Wall Street Journal* hastily criticized both congressmen, insisting that "American ideals can be sold to humanity best by presenting America as it is."

Why, in our efforts to sell our Americanism to the world, are we so dreadfully naive?

When we Americans set out to sell any other product, we consciously underscore its good qualities, its advantages, its best features.

As adman Arthur Meyerhoff says, "We sell Golden Glory ice cream to one another—not by analyzing—but by advertising it!"

We sell ice cream with adjectives: "delicious," "nourishing," "refreshing," "flavorful."

The whole truth, including the "conflicting opinions," would have to state that ice cream can contribute to tooth decay, makes some people sick and most people fat.

To include such irrelevancies in our ads would be unthinkable.

Yet in our "ads" for our "ism," we similarly subvert our own objective by publicizing worldwide a riot by a hundred people in a nation where 190 million do not.

The Voice of America is an effective propaganda weapon in the Cold War or it is a worthless extravagance.

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One of the reasons for the slow-down in U.S. grain shipments to India is the big Soviet arms build-up in that country.

Until the U.S. obtains assurances from New Delhi that the Soviet arms will not be used to renew the war against Pakistan, President Johnson has directed that grain shipments to India be limited to those needed to avert hunger there.

According to congressional sources, the President acted after receiving reports that Russian arms shipments to India were doubled in recent months and included four submarines, 75 MIG21s, 75 transport planes, 125 arms helicopters, 160 T-55 tanks, 17 SAM launchers each with six anti-aircraft missiles; and 500 army trucks and weapon carriers.

Of particular concern to U.S. authorities are the Soviet-built submarines which have begun operating in the Indian Ocean with Soviet trawlers.

Under terms of the Russian-Indian arms agreement, U.S. sources report, the Soviets are permitted to station training officers aboard these submarines. In effect, these officers are in command of the submarines, which are manned by Indian crews.

More generous than even these arms deliveries is the $300-million production complex that the Kremlin is building in India to produce MIG21s at the rate of 10 a month.

U.S. intelligence authorities are convinced that Russia would never gamble on constructing these plants if its leaders did not believe that India would come under its influence by 1968—when the first planes are due off the assembly line.

Since the Pakistan-India war in 1965, the United States has refused to provide arms to either country. Because of this ban, Pakistan is now seeking to purchase arms from Communist China to match the Soviet build-up in India. To date, Peking has sold President Ayub Khan 60 MIG19s—all originally obtained from Russia.

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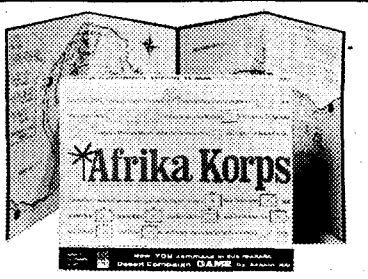

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Israeli tanks rumble into the historic Old City of Jerusalem as a part of the blitzkrieg that has reshaped the map of the Middle East.

In a lightning early-morning blow, Nasser's air force was virtually wiped out, much to the distress of the Soviets who supplied the planes and trained the crews.

The true course of the war in the Near East has been obscured by superficial maneuvers and specious propaganda. Here are some of the basic elements of conflict:

• The involvement of the United States in Viet Nam seemed to offer the Soviet Union an opportunity for profitable initiatives in the Near East. A decade of investment in Arab armament had prepared the way.

• The disposition of the United States to compromise all conflict, without regard to principle, invited the Arab blockade. President Nasser had reason to believe that a sharp initiative would produce significant gain. A blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba could be used to compel a settlement of the Palestinian refugee question and possibly to restore the United Nations armistice lines of 1949.

• The blockade seemed to bring paralysis to the United States and the United Nations. With the Soviet Union supporting Egypt, the Security Council could reach no agreement on a course of action.

• It appeared that Israel would be exposed to a lengthy blockade without effective relief from the United Nations or from sympathetic Western powers.

• In this situation, Israel decided to attack. It counted on surprise and violence to smash the Arab capacity to respond.

• By flying the Mediterranean out of range of Egyptian radar and attacking from the direction in which the U.S. 6th Fleet lay, the Israeli Air Force achieved decisive surprise. It destroyed the Egyptian Air Force as a factor in the ensuing battle and blinded the Egyptian high command. Israeli command of the air was a key factor in the consequent victories of Israeli tanks and infantry.

• When the decisive character of the Egyptian defeat became apparent, the Soviet Union approved the United Nations resolution calling for a cease-fire. Israeli disregarded the United Nations resolution to continue its attack. Unaccountably, the Soviet representative at the United Nations argued for a pull-back to the 1949 armistice lines, a remote issue, instead of condemning Israeli defiance of the United Nations, an issue of vital importance to Arab positions.

• The council cease-fire, as issued, was of immediate effect. Under it, each belligerent had a continuing right of self-defense but no right of attack. The resolution required an immediate cessation of all offensive warfare.

• Israel continued its attack, excusing its non-compliance by Egyptian verbal rejection of the cease-fire. On the Jordanian front, Israel continued offensive action for two days after Jordan accepted the cease-fire.

• U.S. news media, elated by the Israeli battle successes, were silent about Israeli defiance of the United Nations. In the United Nations the United States gave effective support to the successes which Israeli arms won on the battlefield.

The Near East war points up some important lessons on international affairs which the United States has no intention of learning:

• Israel properly evaluated the weakness of the United Nations as a peace keeper and struck to preserve its own vital interests. In contrast, the United States persists in subordination of its own vital interests to the mythological peace potential of the United Nations.

• The Soviet Union demonstrated that it will not start world war in order to save an ally from defeat. The United States makes a contrary assumption in Viet Nam.

• President Nasser has achieved the unique distinction in history of being blitzkrieged twice, in almost identical pattern, by the same enemy. The Soviet Union shared each defeat. The Arab nations have made a bad choice in aligning their policies with the Soviet Union.

• Premier Levi Eshkol placed the conduct of the war in the hands of his very capable Gen. Moshe Dayan. President Johnson, in contrast, places the conduct of war in the hands of an accountant.

• Israel smashed a powerful adversary with a blitzkrieg. The United States bleeds interminably in war with a miniscule country. Which course serves the cause of peace?

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FAA LUXURIES—The watchdog General Accounting Office reports that the Federal Aviation Agency squandered $267,000 on clothes dryers, TV sets and other luxuries for its Pacific-based employes. The FAA insisted on paying $3.40 for porcelain-lined ashtrays, spurning the government's standard 42-cent glass ashtrays, according to the GAO.

By MORRIE RYSKIND

The United Nations can chalk up another victory with the Solomon-like deliberations that put a quick end to the Mid-East war. All that remains is for the U.N. to restore order in the Security Council, where the sniping still continues unabated.

There should, however, be no delay in bringing to justice the criminals who unleashed the war. We have ample precedent in the Nuremberg trials.

The distinguished delegate of the USSR has detailed the undeniable facts, and his findings have been confirmed in a communique signed by such free and independent nations as Yugoslavia, East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria. And if that isn't world opinion, what is?

The conflict began when the powerful Israelis—who already ruled over a swollen domain about the size of mighty New Hampshire—invaded the tiny land of Ho Chi Nasser without warning and without provocation. Their only pretext was the timeworn alibi of every marauder from Attila to Hitler: "This is a war of self-defense."

It was an act of brutal aggression that smacked of the attempt of the distinguished but imperialist rulers of Finland to encircle the peaceful Soviet Union in 1939. Then, happily, right made might, and the heavily outnumbered Russians were able not only to repel the invaders, but to unseat the ruling clique and replace them with a genuinely democratic order.

The new regime—made up entirely of Finnish Communists and thus representing the toiling masses—called itself the "People's Government of Finland," and immediately concluded a treaty of peace with the USSR. Said peace gave the USSR all it asked for, thus proving that men of good-will can get more at the conference table than by war.

There is, however, one marked difference between the case of Finland and that of Israel. Whereas Finland had some men of peace, no Israelis were willing to consider Nasser's generous terms. It was as though the whole country had a war psychosis and preferred to die on its feet rather than lie down and be trampled on.

There is no record, for example, of any demonstration in Tel Aviv against the sending of arms to the front, accompanied by the burning of the Israeli flag; no mothers paraded through Jaffa demanding the boys be brought home; no sit-ins tried to send food and medicine to Nasser's Viet Cong; no home-grown Linus Ben Gurion, no Robert Vaughan-Eshkon, no Marthin Luther Levi was invited to speak against war in any campus or kibbutz; no Israeli move depicted the Israeli Pentagon as a collection of pompous chauvinists panting to bring on a nuclear holocaust.

In the face of this record, we must conclude that Israel never had any intellectuals—not improbable—or that all its peace-lovers had been secretly liquidated. In either case, a terrible commentary.

Part of the Israeli victory undoubtedly stems from the sad fact that patriotism is not yet a dirty word in that backward land. The unlettered citizens still cling to the notion that to fight for God and country is not an ignoble ethic, but a shining ideal that remains untarnished in spite of the muck that has been thrown at it by the best of our modern intellectuals. And such a mystique, alas, gives the believer an unfair advantage in a life-and-death struggle.

The danger to the world is that Americans once professed the same belief about their own country—and there are signs that this heresy is not extinct, but only dormant.

If Israel goes unpunished, it is possible that Americans may conclude that a four-day blitzkreig could save thousands of lives, and pursue the same barbarous tactics in Viet Nam instead of heeding world opinion as expressed by the distinguished representatives of Russia, Yugoslavia, et al.

That is unthinkable. So bring on the war crimes trial before Uncle Sam gets any ideas.

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'Pacem in Terris II'

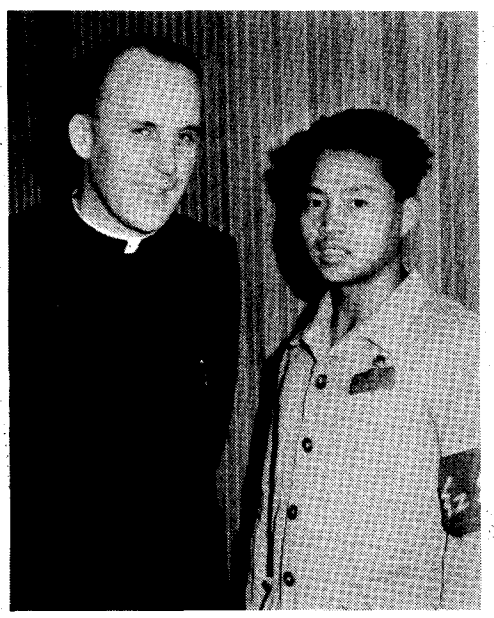
Despite dissenters, idea of 'peace at any price' was dominant

By REV. DANIEL LYONS, S.J.

Geneva, Switzerland:—Can there be a peace without God? Without the common denominator of a faith that demands integrity, how can there be a true accord? Is it a lack of this trait that makes pseudo-liberals so blind to the aggressiveness of atheistic communism?

Pacem in Terris II—the conference just ended here—was based on Pope John's encyclical in name only—with no reference to God or to moral law. Its initial purpose of world peace was thereby doomed.

The conference, held under the sponsorship of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, located in Santa Barbara, Calif., got off to a bad start. Red China, Hanoi and the Viet Cong boycotted it, though the sympathy was running in their direction. Moscow accepted, then dropped out. The United States government wisely refrained from



Father Lyons is shown talking with Chi Hai-shen, the only member of the Red Guard who has escaped from Communist China.

official attendance, though there were many representatives of the extremely vocal doves.

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, controversial educator and president of the Center, was disappointed in the attendance, and seemed much astonished at the uncooperative attitude of the Communists which is new in his experience.

Most of those in attendance as participants appeared to be blind, deaf and speechless regarding communism, or to possess a strange spiritual affinity with it. They were dissatisfied with the American system, but the failure of collectivization, the denial of human rights under communism was unrecognized or ignored by them. The doctrinaire liberals discussed ending the Cold War without understanding its causes.

Lenin called the free world apologists for communism "deaf mutes." Stalin called them useful idiots. It might be said that both of these dominated the conference.

Not only was it significant who was present and who was not, but also who was allowed to speak, and who was not.

Than Van Do, foreign minister of South Viet Nam, was officially invited, but was told upon his arrival that he could not participate because Hanoi and the Viet Cong were absent. When he asked permission to participate, promising to make a non-partisan presentation, Panel Chairman Chester Renning of Canada stated that he was unwilling to participate unless Than Van Do was excluded. So Saigon's outstanding foreign minister was not allowed to speak, but the Buddhist monk, Thick Nhat Hank, neutralist author of *Viet Nam, Lotus in the Eye of Fire,* was not only permitted to speak but to hold an official press conference.

When a true picture was presented, it was not well received. Thanat Khoman, foreign minister of Thailand, speaking on the side of the free world, condemned the new imperialism, so-called "wars of liberation," so-called "civil wars," so-called "people's wars." He declared that the Communist leaders themselves refuse co-existence, explaining that everyone defending South Viet Nam is ready to negotiate; that those unwilling to do so are the aggressors.

Khoman insisted that they must be convinced that aggression does not pay. He held that there was no valid reason to assume that unilateral concessions would appease the Communists any more than they did Hitler. He stated that free Asia is unwilling to accept either Nazism, fascism, or Marxism.

The best received speakers were those who condemned the United States and who praised the Communists. Harry S. Ashmore, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, praised in glowing terms Ho Chi Minh—who in the 1920s helped to found the French Communist party and has never deviated from communism. Mr. Ashmore said: "There is nobody else in the world today in any country who seems to provide a similar blend of spiritual and political power."

Justice William O. Douglas gratuitously criticized Chiang Kai-shek, praised Khrushchev and Ho Chi Minh—and compared the 1776 American Revolution with the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. He went on to state that 85 per cent of the world's population lives under intolerable conditions, and he maintained that the only alternative is "forceful revolution."

Among the other American doves present were Bishop James Pike, Sen. J. William Fulbright, John Kenneth Galbraith, Martin Luther King and James Roosevelt.

U.S. Sen. Edward Brooke (R.-Mass.) defended the American position, but a leading Polish Communist, Prof. Marian Dobrosielski of Warsaw University, attacked the use of force and demanded that the United States give up all bombing and other acts of war. Dr. Dobrosielski threatened nuclear holocaust, endorsed Hanoi's "Four Points," and again condemned American use of force, insisting upon "truth and integrity" instead of "double talk." This from Poland, to whom United States "bridge-builders" gave $500 million over the last 10 years hoping to win them over.

Sen. Fulbright, who attended the conference only unofficially, made an extremely weak speech and said not one word in defense of the free world. Although Soviet Russia did not attend, she gained substantially primarily from the dove-like utterances of those who could not see plain facts and recognize aggression.

"Be more than fair. Make concessions. Then the Communists will be fair and make concessions." This is not how the Communists operate. While the so-called spokesmen for the free world were presenting a soft line, the Communist-oriented speakers ever more vehemently attacked the United States.

The neutralist position presented at the conference completely overlooked the fact that neutralism in face of aggression creates a power vacuum virtually inviting Communist takeover. The "peace at any price" attitude has weakened the free world's position. Soviet Russia, though not in attendance, was the gainer at the conference from the dove-like cooing of those who would not see facts and recognize aggression.

Pacem in Terris II, like Pacem in Terris I in 1965, completely distorted Pope John's encyclical, thereby doing a terrible disservice to the cause of freedom.

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INSULT TO INJURY—"A plan to have taxpayers finance political campaigns is being pushed by LBJ. Seems like charging admission to a captive audience."—By Harold Coffin in the Indianapolis *Star*

Father Lyons, well-known writer and lecturer, attended the May 28-31 Pacem in Terris II Conference as an observer. Father Lyons is chairman of the Free Pacific Association, Inc. He is also co-author of Viet Nam Crisis, *a first-hand report of his observations during six visits to South Viet Nam in recent years, and a columnist for* Our Sunday Visitor. *He was formerly professor of sociology and dean at Gonzaga University, Spokane, Wash.*

How to Defuse 'Social Dynamite' of Jobless Youth

From the Richmond *News Leader*

In speaking to participants in the 11th Annual Williamsburg International Assembly last week, Dr. Stephen J. Wright, president of the United Negro College Fund, drew attention to the plight of thousands of Negro teen-agers, who have the greatest rate of unemployment in the nation. Dr. James Conant has labeled this group "social dynamite." It is an astute observation.

These teen-agers fall into a category where they have nothing to lose, Dr. Wright pointed out. Most of them live in heavily Negro-populated districts in Northern cities. They have no jobs, no hope, no expectations, no future.

When asked what solution he might propose for this problem, Dr. Wright said that he would like to see thousands of these youngsters trained for the building trades. After all, home-building and commercial construction will more than double the next 25 years, if long-range forecasts prove true and carpenters, brick-layers, electricians, plumbers and other construction workers will be in great demand.

The demand for these construction skills already exists, but members of the minority groups are effectively barred from most apprenticeship programs because of union embargoes.

For instance, the Chicago *Tribune* recently reported that GOP Congressman Vernon Thomson, from Wisconsin, was amazed to find that no building skills were being offered enrollees in McCoy Job Corps Camp in Wisconsin.

He learned that the state's apprenticeship law requires that trainees in these trades be involved in "an employer-employe relationship," which means that they must have promises of jobs after their training is completed. Because most Job Corpsmen return to their home states after finishing their stints, this regulation made it impossible for them to learn construction skills. To be sure, this was a Wisconsin state requirement, but the hand behind the law almost certainly could be revealed as union-inspired.

Despite the involvement of many high union officials in the civil rights movement, many unions, especially the smaller construction unions, operate as closed shops. Membership is kept at

Rep. Vernon Thomson (R.-Wis.) found a Job Corps camp in his state could offer no course in building trade skills.

present levels, and vacancies usually are filled from among members' friends and families. However, in recent years, the lack of status accorded the construction trades has resulted in deterring many youngsters from entering those occupations.

Despite a relatively high rate of pay, construction jobs offer little glamour and promise only hard work. Even now, critical shortages of workers exist in a number of construction fields, and the unions' restrictive practices are not helping to replenish the supply.

Dr. Wright's proposal to channel the energies of these unemployed Negro teen-agers into this particular field has the ring of logic. Although technological advances have simplified many building techniques, the day is far off when there will be no need for construction skills. The young Negroes of the future will be able to depend on better and higher education to improve their standards of living, but for those who already have rejected higher education, yet who seek opportunities to insure a better way of life, the construction field offers great possibilities.

It remains an ironic fact of American life, however, that young Negroes who aspire to become members of the nation's building force will face better chances of success in the 19 states that retain right-to-work laws. They will have two strikes against them in the heavily industrialized, closed-shop states where so much compassion for the Negro plight is professed.

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All Discipline Lacking

Employer Has Sad Experience With Poverty Program Trainee

By ALICE WIDENER

For more than a decade a small successful firm in Manhattan has handled the mailing out of my *U.S.A.* magazine to subscribers. A main asset of the direct mail firm is the accuracy and conscientiousness of the employes. Any mistake they make in *U.S.A.*'s list of names and addresses is almost immediately translated into a letter of protest from an irate subscriber. Until the last few months such a letter was a rarity in *U.S.A.*'s files. But the situation changed and I phoned the boss, Syd, to complain.

"If you knew what I've had to put up with," he groaned, "you'd still be displeased, Mrs. Widener, but I think you'd be more sympathetic." He launched on a tale of woe.

"I started this business 20 years ago with only $600 after I got out of the Army," said Syd. "I was brought up in a very poor family and I know all about the struggles and handicaps poor people face. So when the South Bronx Community Progress Center called me to ask if I'd employ poverty program trainees, I said, 'Sure!' "

Syd said he informed his regular employes about the new situation and they were glad to help. Now he and they are agreed on one thing—no more poverty program trainees in the office, which has been so disrupted it will require weeks to put it back in order.

"Just take one case," explained Syd. "They sent me a Puerto Rican girl, Stella, 19 years old, a high school dropout and an addressograph machine trainee for the past six months. They told me to pay her $70 a week. After a few days on the job, she didn't show up one day. Next day, when the office manager asked why she was absent, she said, 'I didn't have to work every day at the Program. I didn't have to work nearly so hard there and they paid me just as much.' "

Astounded, Syd said he had thought she was a trainee, not an employe, at the South Bronx Community Progress Center. He phoned there to inquire. "Certainly we paid her $70 a week," they confirmed. Syd exploded. "You mean you gave her the training at taxpayers' expense and on top of that you paid her a salary of $70 per week for 24 weeks? If you gave her $10 or $15 a week for pocket, lunch and bus money, I could understand it, if she needed it. But a salary of $70 per week—that's outrageous!"

"That's your opinion, not ours," retorted the welfare bureaucrat at the Progress Center.

"But this girl says she didn't have to keep regular hours or work hard or follow regular office discipline," said Syd.

"That's right. She's a human being, isn't she?"

"Certainly," said Syd. "But do you consider that just being alive is enough in this world to be supported? Or are people supposed to work and support themselves if they're physically fit?"

"We just don't see things the same way," was the reply.

Syd allowed as how that was the case. After three weeks' wholly unsuccessful effort to induce Stella to change her attitude toward work, he fired her. She demanded a week's severance pay. "For what?" said Syd. "For disrupting my place of business, loafing on the job, and getting full pay for half-time work?"

Stella flounced away, but only after having told Syd's workers they were fools to stay on the job when they could take the first subway to the Bronx and "make as much money from the Program for half the work you're doin' here."

Syd told me that this morning a Poverty Program center in Brooklyn called him to ask him to "take on" some trainee typists. "What have you been paying 'em?" he asked, a lot more savvy now than formerly.

"Seventy-five dollars per week."

He told me he told the Brooklyn bureaucrat that to operate a business an owner has to be able to maintain productivity at a profit.

"Under the capitalist system, yes," came the retort. "But we're setting up a Socialist system."

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

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Not a Micro Mistake

From the Dallas *Morning News*

Federal officials, says the dispatch from Washington, are studying a plan to attack the problem of Micronesia.

Micronesia is a group of 2,100 islands, formerly occupied by Japan, which was formed into a United States Trust territory by the United Nations in 1947. The territory includes such well-known World War II battlegrounds as Yap and Truk, former Japanese naval bases; Kwajalein and Saipan, scenes of fierce battles; Tinian, from which the planes that dropped the first A-bomb took off; and Bikini and Eniwetok, the sites of early nuclear tests.

The islands have 92,000 native inhabitants and less land area than Rhode Island.

The new plan envisions a Micro-War on Poverty utilizing the famous Johnsonian "carrot and stick" approach. On 10 islands the United States would develop great systems of education, medicine, transportation and communication. This would be the "carrot." On the other 2,090 islands there would be little or no services—the stick.

The idea is to relocate the natives on 10 islands and provide them with some of that free federal help we paid for last April 15. Actually, though, it's not a new idea.

This country has tried the same approach with another group of natives for the last 100 years. Perhaps a U.S. President of some 10 decades hence will look back on the Micronesian project and render a judgment similar to one made by President Johnson last year as he reviewed 125 years of federal involvement with the American Indian: "Far too many of our Indians live under conditions which make a mockery of our claims to social justice."

New York's Gov. Nelson Rockefeller talks with labor leaders George Meany, left, and Walter Reuther. Although Rocky has disclaimed any intention of running for President, observers feel he is still waiting for lightning to strike.

Rockefeller's Waiting Game

By RUSSELL KIRK

The official line of the governor of New York, repeatedly communicated to reporters and columnists, is that the gentleman in Albany wouldn't think of accepting, let alone seeking, the Republican presidential nomination. But there exist many signs and portents that Mr. Rockefeller's real intentions are quite different.

In his two previous attempts to secure the Republican nomination, Mr. Nelson Rockefeller was inept and failed humiliatingly. But having learned much since then, Gov. Rockefeller now plays a game mightily admired by professional political operators. "Technically, Rockefeller's strategy is perfect," one shrewd Gray Eminence in national politics tells this commentator.

The outward policy of Rockefeller and his intimates is to boost Gov. George Romney. Even the Rockefeller campaign manager has been lent to the governor of Michigan. This strategy will continue into next year's primaries—through the New Hampshire primary at least. If Romney does succeed in rousing some real enthusiasm among influential Republicans—though he hasn't done so thus far—and actually can secure the nomination, then Mr. Rockefeller will have been the kingmaker, and can influence national policy proportionately.

But there is strong reason to believe that private opinion in the Rockefeller camp amounts to this: "George can't do it."

Gov. Romney may not meet the hard test of the primaries; and even if he should enjoy some triumphs there, still he would have to encounter the stern opposition of the Republican state and county chairmen and the other people who make up the majority of delegates to the Republican convention—men who have not forgiven Romney for his virtual defection from the Republican national ticket in 1964.

If, however, Romney can be pushed forward strongly enough to counterbalance the present and growing strength of Mr. Richard Nixon, then a ferocious contest at the convention might incline a majority of the delegates to settle for an experienced man with lots of money—none other than Mr. Rockefeller. Romney's candidacy would fade away, and Rockefeller could join to his own latent strength the remains of the Romney interest.

It's a neat ploy. Meanwhile, liberal Republicans like Gov. Agnew of Maryland will beseech Gov. Rockefeller, again and again, to come forward and lead the Republican party to victory.

Rockefeller will hold the New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Rhode Island delegations in his pocket; he may secure some other states, too—New Mexico, and possibly Washington. Should events drift this way, Mr. Rockefeller could yield gracefully to a "draft," despite his repeated denials of any lingering presidential ambition.

Yet there remain two formidable obstacles. First, Mr. Nixon's influence with both Republican leaders and Republican voters may increase so steadily—particularly as Nixon discusses foreign policy—that Romney cannot block him at the convention. Second, even should a Nixon-Romney deadlock occur, the choice of the delegates might be that redoubtable conservative, Gov. Ronald Reagan, whose present national publicity exceeds Romney's and Rockefeller's combined. It will be a contest subtle and bitter.

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BOBBY KENNEDY came under scathing attack recently from author Robin Moore. "Kennedy, more than any other person in the United States, can take credit for the increased casualties we'll suffer in the next few weeks in Viet Nam," said Moore, author of the bestselling book, *The Green Berets*. In a Milwaukee talk, Moore said that Kennedy's opposition to U.S. policy served to firm up Hanoi's resolve.

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"SVETLANA STALIN'S book must be great—it hasn't been published yet, and already the Kremlin is denying two chapters a day."—By Jack Wilson in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

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GRADUAL AND SILENT—"Since the general civilization of mankind, I believe there are more instances of the abridgement of the freedom of the people by gradual and silent encroachments of those in power than by violent and sudden usurpations."—James Madison, in a speech at the Virginia Convention, June 16, 1788

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Tough for the Able, Too

Not only life's ungifted need sympathy

By JENKIN LLOYD JONES

We are in an era when it is fashionable to commiserate with the ungifted, the disorganized, the lazy and others who, for a variety of reasons, can't cut the mustard. So perhaps it is well to remind ourselves that the world has been tough on the able, too.

To this end we are indebted to an article by Nathaniel Weyl in the current issue of the *Intercollegiate Review* in which he explores "aristocide," or the periodic slaughter of the smartest.

He points out, of course, the vast difference between natural aristocracies composed of people of intrinsic worth from either side of the tracks and prescriptive aristocracies based on hereditary position. These latter have a way of running out of gas before they run out of ermine, as witness the Hapsburgs and the Bourbons.

Aristocide is as old as history. It was the common result when a primitive people overran an advanced people, and there was a measure of self-preservation in it. The brutish conquerors butchered the leading citizens, knowing well that these harbored the seeds of rebellion and would make restive serfs.

The Mongol conquests did the job so well that the creative capacity of the Middle East was destroyed for generations. The offspring of Saladin's great fighters were simply obliterated.

In ancient and medieval times ambitious and energetic people tended to flock into cities. Conquerors didn't bother much with chasing fleeing herdsmen into the woods. But they put the cities to the sword. Plagues hit the cities hardest.

Only the Romans were smart enough to treat their brilliant slaves well and sit at their feet as pupils. Tamerlane and Genghis Khan knocked off all the teachers and philosophers they could find.

The Russian Communists encouraged technicians and scientists, but they looked with great suspicion on artists, poets and other independent minds. Even the old Bolshevik "intellectuals" were pretty well eliminated in the various purges, and the Russian arts, which had flourished in the winter climate of the Czars, have suffered badly.

For generations the Aztecs plunged obsidian knives into the hearts of their most promising young people in an insane effort to catch the attention of the lazy rain gods. Had it not been for this progressive anemia of the Aztec genius, Cortez' 500 soldiers might have been tossed back into the Gulf of Mexico.

In hustling the Jews to his gas chambers, Hitler killed off a most creative minority, one that had stood at the forefront of German medicine, philosophy and science for generations.

No one has a close estimate of the number of Chinese aristocrats and "exploiters" whom Mao butchered after the Red takeover—the most quoted figure is 20 million. If true, he must have bagged a good proportion of those Chinese smart enough to take a pinch of salt with the words of Mao.

The level of national ability takes a licking in modern war. The slack jaws and dim bulbs stay at home to breed while the boys who can pass the exams suit up. Often, the higher one's aptitude, the more dangerous the combat job. Half the RAF came from the best schools of England. No wonder what was left sat around bawling for free toupees and cradle-to-grave security.

Even without war or massacres or plague there can be progressive deterioration. The welfare state is designed to remove the privations which have traditionally been the penalty of incompetence, but it cannot remove the taxes necessary for subsidy. Thus, two classes of people can have all the children they wish—the rich who can afford them and the poor who can call on public aid to support them.

But the vigorous, rising middle class, which provides most of the reservoir of national talent, is inclined to limit births in order to provide educational advantages for its children. This tendency will increase as the tax burden grows greater. The future of the national IQ in those nations which oversubsidize low competence and overpenalize high competence is cloudy.

What the Homo sapien would be like if he had not spent 200 generations selectively slaughtering and discouraging his ablest representatives is a matter for speculation. But perhaps there would be by now no audience for bullfights, no screaming crowds trying to catch sight of the Animals or yoicking off after Twiggy.

(Copyright 1967, Los Angeles *Times*)

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A PACKAGE DEAL—"Sic certainly does transit gloria mundi, at least in Washington. Time was when Congress seemed almost unanimously in awe of the brilliance of Secretary of Defense McNamara. Now some of them are trying to trade him off to the minor leagues. The other day Rep. Wayne Hays suggested that the U.S. should try to swap 400 new F-111 jets for the services of Secretary McNamara's counterpart in Israel, Moshe Dayan. Gen. Dayan has built quite a reputation as a winner, having shut out the Egyptains twice. However, perhaps just for this reason, Hays' colleague, Rep. Joe Waggonner, suggested that the package offer should include Secretary McNamara. This kind of badinage would be hard enough for the secretary to put up with if it came from Republicans. But the unkindest cut of all is the fact that both of the would-be traders are Democrats."—From the Dallas *Morning News*

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AFTER "GREAT SOCIETY"?—"Has 'Great Society' been abandoned as a term to describe the illusory vista of peace and plenty and prosperity and perfection which the Johnson Administration promised? There is some evidence to that effect. Agriculture Secretary Freeman in his talk to the National Press Club the other day referred to 'New Era' programs. Of course, some spoilsport is always hanging around. Congressman H. R. Gross of Iowa suggested that, in the interest of accuracy, 'New Error' would be a better tag."—From the Omaha (Neb.) *Evening World-Herald*

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REAGAN'S PERFORMANCE—After a recent survey, the *Wall Street Journal*'s reporter in Sacramento found that Ronald Reagan is generally getting high marks for his performance as governor of California.

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Recession or Boom Ahead?

By LAWRENCE FERTIG

Professional forecasters are having some trouble these days. Not in years have they disagreed as much as today about the immediate future of the economy. Until now there has been a fairly general consensus among them—at least for the coming six months or year. But that is no longer so. Forecasts now run the gamut from accelerated recession to boom.

The reason for the lack of consensus is quite simple. It has been the tendency of those who make economic predictions to "extrapolate" or extend the trend line of the last year into the immediate future with slight variations. The reason there is so much difference of opinion now is that the trend line was broken last year. It flattened out. Some believe it will now plunge downward, and some assert that it will go up.

Some light is shed on the present dilemma of economic forecasters by a recent study published by the National Bureau of Economic Research. It was written by Victor Zarnowitz, professor at the University of Chicago. He analyzed predictions made for the years 1953-63 and found that the record of leading forecasters wasn't very good. Their predictions about changes in the Gross National Product, even on a short year-by-year basis, was wrong by a considerable margin.

They missed the degree of change by as much as 40 per cent. Their long-run predictions were much more unreliable. Zarnowitz points out that the average layman could do just as well by guessing that the near future would be very much like the recent past.

What now of the future—say the next year? Some forecasters alternate between worrying about two things: an accelerated decline and the coming of wage-price controls. There is deep confusion in this thinking, because obviously we can't have both. Wage-price controls—even in limited fashion—would be imposed only if economic activity becomes hectic and prices are rising sharply. But under these conditions we would have boom, not recession. The question is, which is most likely to occur?

This writer would like to enter his guess in the forecasting sweepstakes, since all predictions are guesses and the game is free. My own guess is that there is scant evidence pointing towards further recession. On the contrary, there is a good chance of further rise in business activity—and perhaps of a boom. Sharply rising prices would accompany an inflationary boom.

Here are some of the facts which lead to this conclusion. It is impossible for a recession to take place unless there is a *liquidation* in many areas of the economy—in bank deposits, bank loans, employment, etc. There are few signs of liquidation. On the contrary, there is more evidence of continued expansion:

• Business loans at commercial banks have been rising at an annual rate of 10 per cent since November and 12 per cent since February, according to a St. Louis Federal Reserve Bank report.

• The money supply has increased, not decreased. Bank deposits plus currency have been growing "at a steady 6 per cent rate over the past four months," according to the same report.

• Jobs have not been liquidated. Unemployment has remained steady at 3.7 per cent to 3.8 per cent for many months.

• The index of production has moved sidewise for over a year. At nearly 156, it is about the same as in mid-June last year, and only a fraction of 1 per cent lower than the peak of 1959 last December.

• While the rate of inventory accumulation has slowed down considerably, it still goes on. There has been no violent liquidation of inventories, while production remained quite steady.

The controlling factor behind all these statistics is the policy of the nation's money managers (the Federal Reserve Board). Since late last year the Fed provided commercial banks with more loanable funds. It has encouraged an expansion, not a contraction of bank deposits and currency, which recently achieved a new high of $174 billion. With this monetary inflation as a base, liquidation in all sectors of the economy was curbed.

Will monetary inflation continue to give the economy a shot in the arm? All indications point to evidence that it will. The Administration, which has a profound influence on the Fed, faces a national election next year. It looks as if all stops will be pulled out to promote industrial activity at any cost. The cost will be depreciation of the dollar through rising prices. But apparently that will not, in the immediate future, curb the present policy of federal deficit spending and monetary inflation.

This combination of factors looks more like the base for an inflationary boom than for an immediate recession.

(Distributed by Columbia Features, Inc.)

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SOME FLAGPOLE—"Congressman H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) reports that the new office building for the Commerce Department's Bureau of Standards, first estimated to cost $65 million, already has cost some $107 million and it isn't even finished yet. One item that added to the higher costs was the erection of a 90-foot, stainless steel flagpole for $44,700 in front of the new building. That figures out to something like $500 a foot. Some flagpole! A local flagpole company advises that a 45-foot, ground-set, cone-tapered aluminum flagpole, complete with halyard, would run but $820, and that a 90-foot pole probably would be no more than twice that price. However, a representative of the company voiced some doubts on the stability of a 90-foot pole. "That's going up right far," he said. Even given the higher cost of stainless steel over aluminum, that's going up right far in price, too. The taxpayers might wonder if a gold-plated flagpole would not have been a better bargain."—From the Richmond *News Leader*

□ □ □

CFR A MENACE?—Syndicated Columnist Edgar Ansel Mowrer says of the New York-based Council on Foreign Relations: "It is true that members of the council's publications give it a powerful and not always a happy leverage on American foreign policy. Yet a powerful and independent secretary of state, or either of the two major parties could, however, change this state of affairs at any time. And big business could put up the money to buy or create metropolitan newspapers with no peaceniks on their editorial staffs and devoted to winning the Cold War. Why not try to influence the party you favor?"

While American GIs plod through the jungles of Viet Nam in an undeclared war, Congress is wrestling with the problem of somehow curbing acts which, by the letter of the law, are not quite treasonable.

Congress Discusses New Law On Crime 'Just Below Treason'

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

Only one crime is defined in the American Constitution—the crime of treason—but now a congressional committee has been advised to enact "a federal law just below treason."

Since no law that is repugnant to the Constitution would (presumably) be allowed to stand, the Congress will find it difficult to draw up a valid statute for this crime against the federal state.

There are, of course, laws against vandalism of federal property, interference with the recruitment of troops and the movement of troops, refusal to obey an order of the courts and against teaching and advocating the overthrow of the government. But treason is more than any of these acts. It is more than a presidential assassination (until recently not federally illegal), because it is an attempt on the life of the sovereign (the people, in the American instance) and the mere attempt (if treason succeeds, none dare call it treason) is punishable by death.

The Constitution-writers tried to be very precise and preclusive in their definition of treason. They included the cautionary word "only" to prevent loose interpretation. Otherwise, it was thought by these rebels against the Crown, Americans would be getting their heads chopped off by their own government for mere acts or thoughts of dissent.

Unless the matter was clearly spelled out, an unsuccessful presidential candidate might end up before a firing squad, and even a hostile editorial-writer or cartoonist might be made a martyr. Thus Article III, Section 3, of the Constitution reads:

"Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort."

And to make conviction for treason still more difficult, the Founding Fathers added another sentence, including another cautionary word: "overt." The section concluded:

"No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court."

Chief Justice Marshall, as every schoolboy knows, narrowed the definition still further in his handling of the treason trial of Aaron Burr in 1807. The phrase "overt act" was interpreted by Marshall to mean that the prosecution had to show Burr with a weapon in hand at the head of armed troops. Lacking this testimony by two persons (they never materialized), the jury could convict the accused of a lesser crime, but not of treason. In fact, Burr was convicted of nothing and was set free.

Another phrase in Article III, Section 3—"levying war"—has been interpreted as a limitation, and as making treason almost impossible to prove except in wartime. (Lincoln always regarded the Civil War as a "rebellion" in which the seceding states never actually left the Union.)

When the Constitution was ratified, it was thought that there would never be war unless Congress declared it. But almost immediately this assumption fell by the wayside.

President Washington, in 1793, put forth a proclamation of neutrality to apply to the Franco-British war of that era. Congress rose in anger, not because it opposed neutrality, but because many members felt that the sole right to declare war included the sole right to proclaim neutrality. House and Senate quickly passed the Neutrality Act of 1794. But a little bit of congressional supremacy had slipped away, never to return. Presidents after George Washington used their executive powers to declare non-war (neutrality) and de facto war itself.

The Internal Security subcommittee in the Senate, and the Armed Services Committee in the House, are both toying with the idea of defining a crime "just below treason" that is operable in war and non-war. It's a tough assignment.

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The Young Republicans—'Syndicate' vs. 'Gangbusters'

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Despite many of the predictions to the contrary, the Young Republican National Federation convention, which opened Monday, June 19 in Omaha, Neb., isn't likely to follow the script of the recent hair-pulling contest staged by the National Federation of Republican Women in Washington, D.C. There may be fireworks, possibly over the ridiculous contention that Clifton White, Goldwater's old organizer, is the YR Svengali, but nobody is prophesying any really monstrous skulduggery.

The fight in the women's organization, which became incredibly confused and incredibly bitter, was not a clear-cut squabble between liberals and conservatives. What happened among the women was that the conservatives were themselves split in the presidential contest between Mrs. Gladys O'Donnell of California, an organization lady who was acceptable to conservative oldsters such as Sen. George Murphy and Gov. Ronald Reagan, and Mrs. Phyllis Schlafly, an ardent Goldwater supporter.

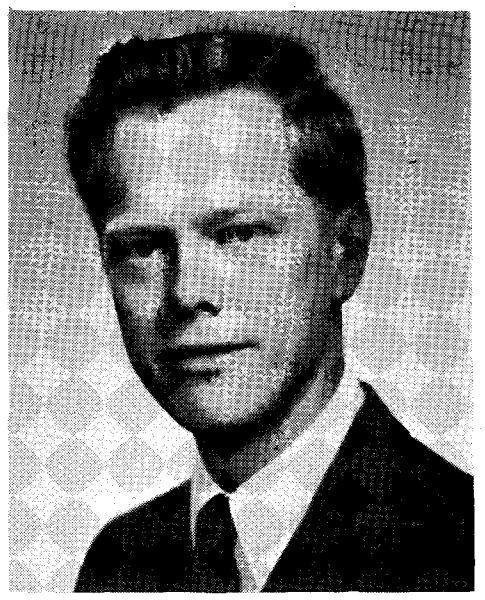
The few out-and-out liberals among the women gladly made Mrs. O'Donnell their candidate, too. The fight took on ideological overtones because of the tactics involved, with Eastern liberal groups pouring in bus loads of last-minute representatives from nearby states while the Schlafly strength, which was concentrated at a distance in the Middle West, the Far West and the South, lacked money and mobility to turn out the horses. So the "liberals' conservative" won in a hot and exceedingly impolite fight.

By contrast, the contest for chairman of the Young Republicans is a straight-out battle that admits of no deception. There are three candidates: Jack McDonald of Tennessee, who wears the conservatives' colors; Jim Betts of Ohio, the liberals' man, and Ray Cooper of Arkansas, who has been traveling around in a plane belonging to Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller, logging some 25,000 air miles in electioneering business.

Since Betts is the favored candidate of the Nelson Rockefeller-Sen. Hugh Scott "gang busters" who hope to upset the ruling "syndicate" in YR circles, the fact that Winthrop Rockefeller should be helping a third starter is a little puzzling. Maybe the hope is that Cooper will detach some Southern conservatives from McDonald.

The affair becomes even more puzzling when Congressman Buz Lukens, a former YR chairman, says that if Cooper can't win (and there is no likelihood that he could get more than a few votes), Arkansas delegates will revert to the conservative Jack McDonald.

The predictions are that McDonald has it in the bag. Since the convention is in Omaha, in almost the exact center of the country, the odds are that nobody will benefit from last-minute packing of the voting lists by midnight bus excursions from nearby metropolises.



Present national treasurer Jack McDonald is considered the "syndicate" candidate in this week's YR elections in Omaha.

The story is that Nelson Rockefeller has taken a big suite at a local hotel for the use of Betts partisans, but delegates from the Betts states—Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Michigan, and (to some extent) Ohio—should be outnumbered by those from the McDonald states.

At the 1965 YR convention in Miami, California's right-wing delegation made a crazy coalition with the Eastern liberals simply because the present YR chairman, Tom Van Sickle of Kansas, wasn't conservative enough for them. But this year California seems to be in the McDonald camp. Moreover, the conservatives seem to have picked up Idaho, Maryland, North Carolina, Colorado and, possibly, Connecticut. They have also regained the District of Columbia.

There could be some bitter infighting if the so-called "Alcorn Report," dating back a few years, is revived by bringing it to the floor. This report advocates putting the Young Republicans under the control of the Republican National Committee, now headed by Ray Bliss. But Bliss, understandably, is not taking any open sides in Young Republican affairs, and it is doubtful that a majority of the YRs are about to vote for the subjugation of their organization by the party's elders. Despite the efforts of Sen. Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, who has never let up on the YRs, the prospects are that the battle for the chairmanship this year will be fairly settled without too much interference from outside.

The convention will be addressed by George Romney and Ronald Reagan, with Nixon abstaining. It will be Romney's moral earnestness versus Reagan's glamour in a setting that should show more maturity among the YRs than has been evident in recent years. Ray Bliss should be the happier for that.

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STAY INDEPENDENT—"Harold Howe II, who heads the United States Department of Education, has urged private schools of the nation to drop their specialized roles and 'to form alliances . . . with the community, with public schools, universities and other institutions.' We disagree with the view. Private schools are perhaps the last outpost of educational independence in the country. For them to form alliances with the public school system would reduce them to satellites of the public school establishment. The true value of private schools is their independence from public authority. Let them keep it."—From the Indianapolis *Star*

Citizenship Means Duty, Too

From the Indianapolis *Star*

The United States Supreme Court, on May 29, in a 5 to 4 decision, made a ruling which can have far-reaching ramifications unless challenged by a constitutional amendment.

The case concerned an American citizen who voted in a foreign election. The Congress had enacted a law to revoke the citizenship of such a person who, by voting in a foreign election, demonstrated his fealty to that nation.

But the high court said no, that the 14th Amendment makes inviolate a person's citizenship unless he voluntarily gives it up.

If this ruling were applied in other cases, it would be to give the blessing of this nation to Americans who join the army of a foreign power, an act which requires an oath of allegiance to that power, who serve as officials of foreign governments, or who might be guilty of treason. The ruling says, in effect, the only way one can lose his citizenship is by renouncing it voluntarily.

Speaking to the House of Representatives on the matter, Rep. Arch A. Moore (R.-W.Va.), asked this question:

"What sort of sovereignty is it that has no right to exercise normal expatriation powers? What point is there in providing a naturalization process under which an individual can acquire U.S. citizenship, perhaps only motivated by prospects of economic gain, and then go to the far corners of the world, vote in foreign elections, avoid and evade service in the American armed services, perhaps even hold foreign office while wrapping himself in the American flag and looking for the protection of Uncle Sam at every threat to his property and his own safety?

"U.S. citizenship is not a one-way street—all privileges and rights and protection but no duties, responsibilities and obligations of loyalty and service . . . . it is our full resolve to see that the full sovereign power of expatriation is asserted and again made effective for the United States of America. If it requires a constitutional amendment, then that we must provide."

We agree.

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FLORIDA'S CRIME WAR—Florida Gov. Claude Kirk's war on crime, under the direction of private investigator George Wackenhut, is now gaining widespread public support (58 per cent of state citizens in a recent poll) and producing results. Thus far, several hundred cases have been opened, a school official has been indicted for converting equipment to private use, and five county sheriffs have been suspended for improper activities; showing the bi-partisan nature of Republican Kirk's crime war, one of the sheriffs was a loyal supporter of the GOP.

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Supreme Court Notwithstanding

America's Songs Are Fighting Back

By DR. MAX RAFFERTY, California Superintendent of Public Instruction

The darnedest things are controversial these days. Even music.

One of the more unexpected and less pleasant aftershocks of the recent Supreme Court decision banning state-mandated prayers in public schools was the dilemma it posed for the music book publishers.

You'll recall that our highest tribunal a few years back took time out from its more humdrum chores of outlawing state loyalty oaths and releasing guilty criminals on technicalities so they could get a return crack at the rest of us sitting ducks whom they had somehow missed the first time around. During this brief breathing space, the worthy justices monumentally redefined the separation of church and state by refusing any longer to let little kindergarteners say their simple thanks to the Creator for their daily cup of milk.

This epochal decision may or may not have made the shades of the Founding Fathers rest more easily, but it certainly conjured up a thundering, king-size headache for those of us who work with music textbooks.

To start off with a highly unforeseen leap to an absolutely asinine conclusion, one of our great Eastern states promptly buttressed the high court's order barring state-prescribed prayer in classrooms by announcing that the last verse of the *Star-Spangled Banner* would henceforth be out of bounds for the kiddies. You remember the odious verse in question, I'm sure. It contains that subversive phrase, "In God is our trust."

Other states hared off hot on the track of Christmas carols or declared war on high school baccalaureate hymns.

But California turned out to be in the worst spot of all. The Golden State, you see, adopts and distributes its own textbooks, and every public school pupil has to use them, with no ifs, ands or buts. As a result, everything in these books is thus "state mandated." And in the past, I almost hesitate to report, there have been music books with lines like these:

Our fathers' God, to Thee, author of liberty,
To Thee we sing.
Long may our land be right with freedom's holy light;
Protect us by Thy might, great God our King.

and

America, America, God shed His grace on thee.

and even

God bless America, land that I love.

Let's face it. All these songs, and quite a few more like them, are prayers. And state-mandated prayers, at that.

Yes, siree. There we Californians stood with egg all over our faces, confronted with the unpalatable alternatives of either wiping much of our rich national musical heritage out of our books or telling the Supreme Court to go take a flying jump in the Pacific.

Well, a few weeks back we cut the Gordian Knot in our state and adopted some brand-new music books. Take a look at some of the songs our California youngsters will be singing after the new books go into use in 1968: "O, Come All Ye Faithful," "Away in a Manger," "O Hanukah," "Columbia the Gem of the Ocean," "The Stars and Stripes Forever" and even George M. Cohan's "You're a Grand Old Flag."

Yes, the great old songs are still there, and with them some mighty fine new ones. And yes, technically, some of them are undoubtedly written in the form of prayers.

If so, we've decided that we just don't care. Given the choice between a literal enforcement of an impossible court decision on the one hand and salvaging the warp and woof of America's musical birthright on the other, we've come out in favor of the latter.

And if somebody wants to haul us into court, I guess we're ready for the paddy wagon. Singing merrily as we go.

Several of us are currently practicing a close-harmony rendition of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." A lot of brave gentlemen went into battle with its words on their lips a century ago and "died to make men free." The least we can do is to belt out a few choruses while we're being mugged and printed.

Who knows? We might even make the prison glee club.

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Administration Pushes Three Public Power Grabs

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

The Administration was preoccupied with threats of war in the East, but not to the extent of abandoning a Socialistic design for steadily expanding controls in the economic field.

Three Administration schemes now before Congress would push federalism deeper into the electric power field—at the expense of the private power industry and at multi-million-dollar costs to the American taxpayer.

One proposal seeks construction of transmission lines in Arkansas and Oklahoma, a project with a price tag of $10.7 million. Another would appropriate $314 million for the Dickey-Lincoln School hydroelectric plants in Maine. The third would create a Federal Electric Bank in which the government would invest up to $750 million in stock at $100 million a year.

Yet these considerable outlays of public funds would add nothing whatever to meet the nation's power needs that would not otherwise be provided "at least as economically by private sources."

This is the conclusion of Eugene F. Rinta, analyst and executive director of the Council of State Chambers of Commerce.

Obviously these new federal ventures into public power production and distribution may involve benefits to specific areas, but at federal subsidy for the favored districts, which taxpayers the length and breadth of the nation will have to pay for.

And cities, counties, states, as well as federal government, would be euchred out of needed tax revenue that could be received from private power companies.

The quiet, unceasing federal drive for expansion in electric power areas proceeds unabated. Gradual nationalization of power, a cardinal means of production, reveals Washington's persistent Socialistic trend.

Aside from the growing, dangerous invasion of private industry, the Administration's new power grabs defy sane budgeting. The 1968 deficit has already been officially revised upward to $11 billion. And the next year's deficit promises to soar to $24 billion.

A situation peculiar in the extreme is found in the proposed $10-million transmission lines. At the instance of two congressional committees, the Southwestern Power Administration (SWPA) of the Interior Department negotiated a pooling agreement with eight power companies of the area which made the new lines unnecessary.

SWPA Administrator Douglas G. Wright told members of the House Appropriations Committee the agreement would accomplish everything the federal project could and "many, many more things"—at a saving to the government of $35 million! "The advantages of this contract," added Mr. Wright, "in every regard supersede anything I have ever seen in the electric utility business."

Yet the Interior Department, ignoring its own agent, rejected the pool contract and prevailed upon the President to request $400,000 to start plans for the new federal transmission system.

Evidence was offered that by utilizing private power facilities, instead of the Dickey-Lincoln project, savings would be around $7.3 million annually.

Although the second Hoover Commission urged that the Rural Electrification Administration be reorganized as a self-supporting institution, getting its financing from private sources, the Administration now proposes creation of a costly Federal Electric Bank—not to replace the 2 per cent REA loan program, punitive to private development, but to supplement REA, which actually should be phased out.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

LBJ's 'Diplomacy'

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

President Johnson has nominated one Beningo Hernandez, an Albuquerque, N.M., lawyer, as U.S. ambassador to Paraguay. Appearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in connection with his nomination, Hernandez said he didn't know why he was selected. He said he had no diplomatic experience, and had never been to South America. Is it any wonder the Johnson Administration has no foreign policy except to attempt to buy its way around the world, winds up floundering in every crisis, and has no friends?

Debt Limit Quandary

By REP. JACK EDWARDS (R.-Ala.)

Some form of debt limit increase approval will have to be granted by July 1 since on that date the actual deficit will be about $325 billion and at the same time the temporary debt limit authorization will expire and so the legal limit would revert to $285 billion if nothing is done. But now LBJ will have to ask for a debt ceiling of something less than the $365 billion the House rejected recently. And in doing so at least some measure of spending restraint will be imposed. While Congress supports the expenditures needed for the Viet Nam war, most congressmen vigorously seek reduced domestic spending as part of the national restraint which the war should impose on all segments of the country—government, business, and labor.

Two points must be made here. First, the federal government is very wrong in allowing domestic spending to go up and up when military spending is necessarily high and the budget deficit is dangerously high. Secondly, the American public is being called upon to pay for the Administration's irresponsible spending through higher prices, higher interest charges, tight money, and the jeopardy of the future of our economy.

U.S. Ships for U.N.?

By REP. TOM MESKILL (R.-Conn.)

The suggestion has been made in some very high quarters of our government that a number of American warships be assigned to the United Nations solely under U.N. control as a world "peace-keeping" fleet. I am opposed to such an idea. Furnishing such a fleet to the United Nations would weaken our defenses. Once a U.N. fleet came into existence heavy pressure would come on us to withdraw the 6th Fleet from the Mediterranean and replace it with the so-called peace-keeping fleet. The Soviets, of course, would be able to use their U.N. veto to keep this fleet from interfering with Communist aims. The Communist arms build-up in Cuba pegs that area as the next likely crisis spot. This is no time to turn over American ships to U Thant and the United Nations.

Non-Defense Spending

By REP. JOHN ASHBROOK (R.-Ohio)

Although the U.S. population has grown 10 per cent since 1960, the civilian personnel in the government have jumped by 25 per cent, and the cost of government payrolls, including military, has grown by 75 per cent. Not many will quarrel with the increase for national defense expenditures — including the $22 billion for Viet Nam in the 1968 budget—of 68 per cent. But how explain the increase since 1960 of 97 per cent for non-defense spending? One cannot conveniently blame the Viet Nam war for our financial predicament; it is evident that the increases in spending are due to the civilian non-defense activities of the government.

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

Bills

• Legislation proposed by Rep. Paul Fino (R.-N.Y.) has apparently stymied Administration plans to expand East-West trade. Commonly called the **Fino Amendment**, the Bronx congressman's proposal was offered to modify a routine bill extending the life of the U.S. Export-Import Bank so that the Ex-Im, an institution financed by the taxpayer, would have been prevented from directly subsidizing projects in Communist countries. Because of widespread public and congressional support of the amendment, and the knowledge the Ex-Im renewal bill could not pass Congress without the Fino proposal attached, the Administration appears to have dropped the matter for the time being. The Ex-Im renewal does not have to be acted upon until 1968, and Fino aides are convinced LBJ will wait until then before bringing the matter up in hopes that anti-East-West trade sentiment will have abated by '68.

• The House Foreign Affairs Committee has completed hearings on the President's **Foreign Aid Authorization Bill** (HR 7099) and Sen. Fulbright's Foreign Relations Committee will begin hearings soon. Congressional conservatives are hoping to lop off a sizable portion of the $3.4 billion LBJ has requested for the foreign doles, and will also attempt to limit foreign aid commitments to one year.

• The Senate and House have passed a bill continuing the controversial **Food Stamp Program** and it now goes to a joint committee to iron out details and differences. The Senate version did not contain a provision added by the House Agriculture Committee which would have the states share in the costs of the expensive program; the Administration opposes the provision and the Senate dutifully dropped it, but conservatives in the House managed to retain it. The Food Stamp bill would authorize expenditure of $675 million through fiscal 1970 to provide food allowances to families with an income below the "poverty level" in certain metropolitan areas.

• Reports indicate that the President's **Safe Streets and Crime Control Act** (HR 5037) should be reported out of the House and Senate Judiciary Committees by August, with hearings and debate continuing until that time. Republicans are attempting, first, to change the legislation's title to "Law Enforcement Assistance Act" and to reduce the Justice Department's proposed control over the improvement of local police training and crime research; also, congressional conservatives hope to include a provision, opposed by LBJ, giving state governors some veto power over the crime program. Briefly, the proposed legislation provides $50 million in government funds in 1967 and $300 million next year to local law enforcement agencies, if they will accept federal guidelines on training, improvement and research.

• The **Elementary Education Bill** (S 1125) has now been taken up by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare's education subcommittee. Senate liberals, with wholehearted Administration encouragement, are launching a determined campaign to strike from the bill the House amendments added by Rep. Edith Green (D.-Ore.); the two Green amendments, both restricting the powers of Education Czar Harold Howe, transfer controls over education from the federal to the state level. Administration Democrats in the Senate can also be expected to attempt restoring the Teachers Corps program, a $36-million federally controlled project stricken by the House.

• The **Rent Supplements Appropriations Bill** (HR 9960) is now in the hands of the Senate Appropriations Committee which will reportedly deliberate on the controversial measure for most of the month of June. In a rousing defeat for LBJ & Co., the House voted 232 to 171 (see Human Events, May 27, 1967) to bar the Administration from signing new rent supplement contracts. If Senate liberals succeed in resurrecting the project, the bill would next go to a joint House-Senate conference where a compromise measure (most likely resulting in a continuation of the program) would be ironed out. For the rent supplement program to be killed completely, it must be rejected by the Senate.

• The Public Television Act, which passed the Senate in mid-May, has been renamed the **Public Broadcasting Act** (HR 6736) and is now the subject of hearings before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee (instead of the Education and Labor Committee, as erroneously reported in the May 27 Human Events). By providing financial assistance to non-commercial radio and TV broadcasting facilities and establishing a non-profit corporation to subsidize "educational" television programs, this legislation would move the government into a strong position to dictate the material broadcast over the airwaves.

House Turns Back LBJ's Debt Hike, 210-197

Following is the 210-to-197 rollcall vote by which the House of Representatives on June 7 killed LBJ's proposal to raise the permanent national debt ceiling to an all-time high of $365 billion. The current "temporary" ceiling is $336 billion; the government estimates by the end of this month the actual national debt will be about $331 billion. The $29-billion increase in the debt limit would have been the largest since World War II; thus, House members, angered at galloping "Great Society" costs, voted for the first time in history against a debt ceiling. On this vote, a "nay" vote is a vote for economy in government.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 197

Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson (Tenn.)
Annunzio
Ashley
Aspinall
Barrett
Bennett
Bingham
Blanton
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Brooks
Burke (Mass.)
Burleson
Burton (Calif.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Cabell
Carey
Casey
Celler
Cohelan
Colmer
Corman
Culver
Daddario
Daniels
Davis (Ga.)
Dawson
de la Garza
Delaney
Dent
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Dorn
Downing
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards (La.)
Eilberg
Evans (Colo.)
Everett
Evins (Tenn.)
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Flood
Flynt
Foley
Ford, Wm. D.
Friedel
Fulton (Tenn.)
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gallagher
Garmatz
Gathings
Gettys
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Gray
Green (Ore.)
Green (Pa.)
Griffiths
Hamilton
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen (Wash.)
Hardy
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Hebert
Hechler (W.Va.)
Henderson
Herlong
Hicks
Holifield
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Irwin
Jacobs
Joelson
Johnson (Calif.)
Jones (Ala.)
Jones (Mo.)
Karsten
Kazen
Kee
Kelly
King (Calif.)
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kornegay
Kyros
Landrum
Leggett
Long (Md.)
McCarthy
McFall
McMillan
Macdonald (Mass.)
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Matsunaga
Meeds
Miller (Calif.)
Mills
Minish
Mink
Monagan
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris (N.M.)
Moss
Multer
Murphy (Ill.)
Murphy (N.Y.)
Natcher
Nedzi
Nix
O'Hara (Ill.)
O'Hara (Mich.)
Olsen
O'Neill (Mass.)
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Poage
Price (Ill.)
Pryor
Pucinski
Purcell
Randall
Rees
Resnick
Reuss
Rhodes (Pa.)
Rivers
Roberts
Rodino
Rogers (Colo.)
Ronan
Rooney (N.Y.)
Rooney (Pa.)
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roush
Roybal
Ryan
St Germain
Scheuer
Shipley
Sikes
Sisk
Slack
Staggers
Steed
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Sullivan
Taylor
Teague (Tex.)
Tenzer
Tiernan
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waldie
Watts
White
Wilson, Charles
Wright
Yates
Young
Zablocki

REPUBLICANS FOR: 0

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 34

Abbitt
Abernethy
Andrews (Ala.)
Ashmore
Baring
Bevill
Brinkley
Brown (Calif.)
Conyers
Dowdy
Edwards (Calif.)
Fisher
Fountain
Haley
Jarman
Jones (N.C.)
Kastenmeier
Lennon
Marsh
Montgomery
Nichols
O'Neal (Ga.)
Ottinger
Passman
Rarick
Rogers (Fla.)
Satterfield
Selden
Tuck
Waggonner
Walker
Whitener
Whitten
Wolff

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 176

Adair
Anderson (Ill.)
Andrews (N.D.)
Arends
Ashbrook
Bates
Belcher
Berry
Betts
Biester
Blackburn
Bolton
Bow
Brock
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown (Mich.)
Brown (Ohio)
Broyhill (N.C.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Buchanan
Burke (Fla.)
Burton (Utah)
Bush
Button
Byrnes (Wis.)
Cahill
Carter
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen, Don
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Collier
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Cowger
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtis
Davis (Wis.)
Dellenback
Denney
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Duncan
Dwyer
Edwards (Ala.)
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Findley
Fino
Ford, Gerald
Fulton (Pa.)
Gardner
Goodell
Goodling
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gude
Gurney
Hall
Halleck
Halpern
Hammerschmidt
Hansen (Idaho)
Harrison
Harsha
Harvey
Heckler (Mass.)
Horton
Hosmer
Hunt
Hutchinson
Johnson (Pa.)
Jonas
Keith
King (N.Y.)
Kleppe
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Kyl
Laird
Langen
Latta
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Lukens
McClory
McClure
McCulloch
McDade
McDonald (Mich.)
McEwen
Mailliard
Martin
Mathias (Calif.)
Mathias (Md.)
May
Mayne
Meskill
Michel
Miller (Ohio)
Minshall
Mize
Moore
Morse (Mass.)
Morton
Mosher
Myers
Pelly
Pettis
Pirnie
Poff
Pollock
Price (Tex.)
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Reid (Ill.)
Reid (N.Y.)
Reifel
Reinecke
Rhodes (Ariz.)
Riegle
Robison
Roth
Roudebush
Rumsfeld
Sandman
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Shriver
Skubitz
Smith (N.Y.)
Smith (Okla.)
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Steiger (Ariz.)
Steiger (Wis.)
Taft
Talcott
Teague (Calif.)
Thompson (Ga.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Utt
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Whalen
Whalley
Windall
Wiggins
Williams (Pa.)
Wilson, Bob
Winn
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Younger
Zion
Zwach

NOT VOTING: 26

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Court's Liberals Write Some Conservative Law

Property rights defended against bureaucratic intrusion

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

On the morning the Supreme Court handed down its decision in *Camara vs. San Francisco*, the four days' war had just begun in Egypt. Israeli tanks were smashing through the Sinai and the front pages were exploding. Few persons paid much attention to one of the most significant opinions to come from the high court in its 1967 term.

The Camara case—and a companion case of *See vs. Seattle*—saw the court divided 6 to 3 on the ancient question of a man's right to be secure against unwarranted state intrusion upon his property. The conflict in each case boiled down to one man against the bureaucrats. In each case, the one man won.

In the case of Roland Camara, the San Francisco Division of Housing Inspection suspected that the defendant had converted a ground-floor suite of offices into a residential apartment, in violation of an occupancy permit. Camara refused to let the inspectors come into his rooms without a warrant. They arrested him. He brought suit to block the prosecution. Lower courts upheld the city.

In the case of Norman See, the defendant was maintaining a locked commercial warehouse in Seattle. During the course of a city-wide canvass to check on fire hazards, inspectors demanded access to his building. When See refused to let them enter without a warrant, they had him arrested. He was given a suspended fine of $100.

The Supreme Court reversed in both cases, and ordered the prosecutions dismissed. The six-man majority was exactly right, though it may seem odd for a conservative to say so—for the majority included the court's five most consistent liberals, Warren, Black, Douglas, Brennan and Fortas, plus Byron White; and the three dissenters were the most consistent conservatives on the bench—Clark, Harlan and Stewart.

The majority, speaking through Mr. Justice White, did not deny the strong public interest in effective enforcement of sanitation laws, zoning laws and fire prevention codes. Such ordinances ordinarily demand area-wide inspections. If contagious diseases are to be kept down and conflagrations avoided, property must be checked by whole blocks and neighborhoods.

But the question, said White, is not whether such inspections can be made, but whether they may be made without a warrant when a tenant or property owner objects. The 4th Amendment does not forbid all governmental searches or inspections; it forbids only those which are unreasonable. When a housing inspector is challenged at the threshold, why shouldn't he be required to prove the same reasonableness—the same "probable cause"—that is required of police in a criminal case? Why shouldn't the inspector be compelled to get a warrant?

In the two cases at bar, there was no reason on earth—except their own obstinacy—for the housing inspector in San Francisco and the fire inspector in Seattle not to have gone to a judge and obtained a proper warrant. It would have put the inspectors to some bother and inconvenience; their own sense of authority would have been diminished. But so what? Property rights are the oldest of all human rights, and the 4th Amendment was intended to protect them.

Speaking for the dissenters, Clark said that the majority's opinion will jeopardize the "health, welfare and safety of literally millions of people." The requirement for warrants in contested cases will create "enormous confusion." Clark was not impressed by the argument that in the overwhelming number of cases, tenants and owners voluntarily agree to inspections in their own self-interest. "Human nature being what it is," he said, "we must face up to the fact that thousands of inspections are going to be denied." Instead of one rebel a year, a "general rebellion" will develop. "It is submitted that voluntary compliance cannot be depended upon."

But this is the heart of the matter. Our whole system of government is intended to restrict the compulsions of the state and to defend the rights of the single man—the Roland Camara, the Norman See. Their rights are not absolute; society has rights too. But the theory is that society must establish its superior interest before a man must yield to the knock on his door.

The theory goes back to Magna Carta; its application cannot be defined in crisp blacks and whites. In a number of criminal cases, the liberal bloc has leaned too far in the defendant's direction. This time, in the field of bureaucratic enforcement of civil codes, the liberals wrote some soundly conservative law.

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□ □ □

COSTLY CULTURAL EXCHANGE— The State Department recently shelled out more than $5,000 so that a California coach could lecture on track and field to Finnish athletes. Other outlays in the government's program of cultural exchange: $1,848 to a baseball umpire for 19 days work lecturing and instructing in the Netherlands Antilles; $1,299 to a Chicago professor for teaching volleyball in Communist Poland; $10,161 to instruct Libyans in track and field.

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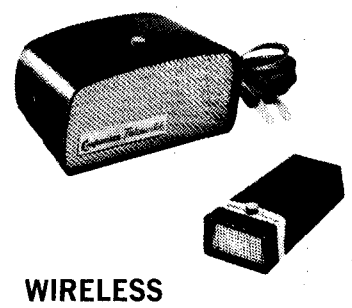

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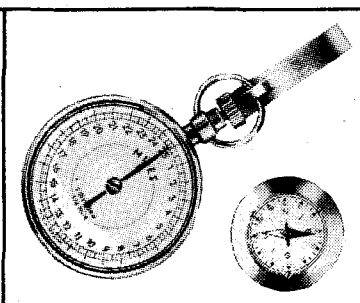

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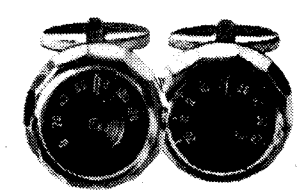

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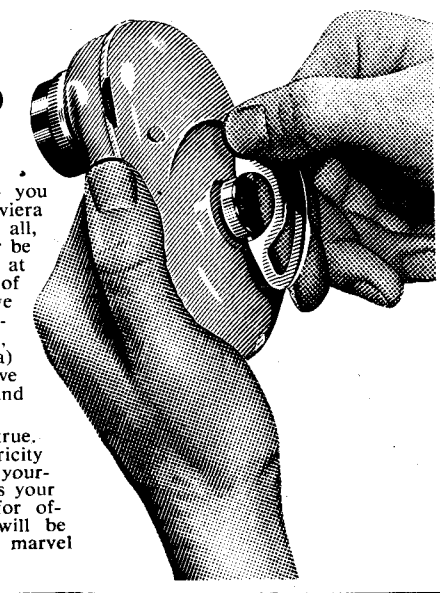

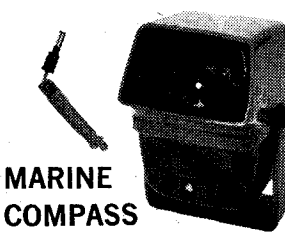

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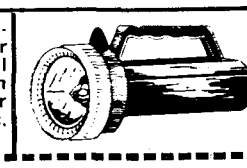

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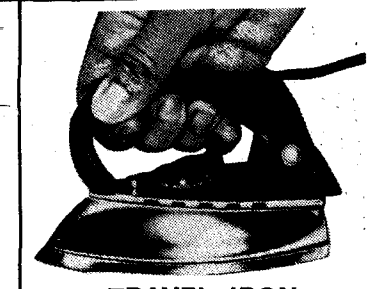

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